A

REPROOF

TO THE

Rehearsal Transprosed,

IN

A Discourse to its Authour.

By the Authour of the

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITIE.

Samuel Parker D.D.

Printed for James Collins at the Kings Arms in Ludgate street

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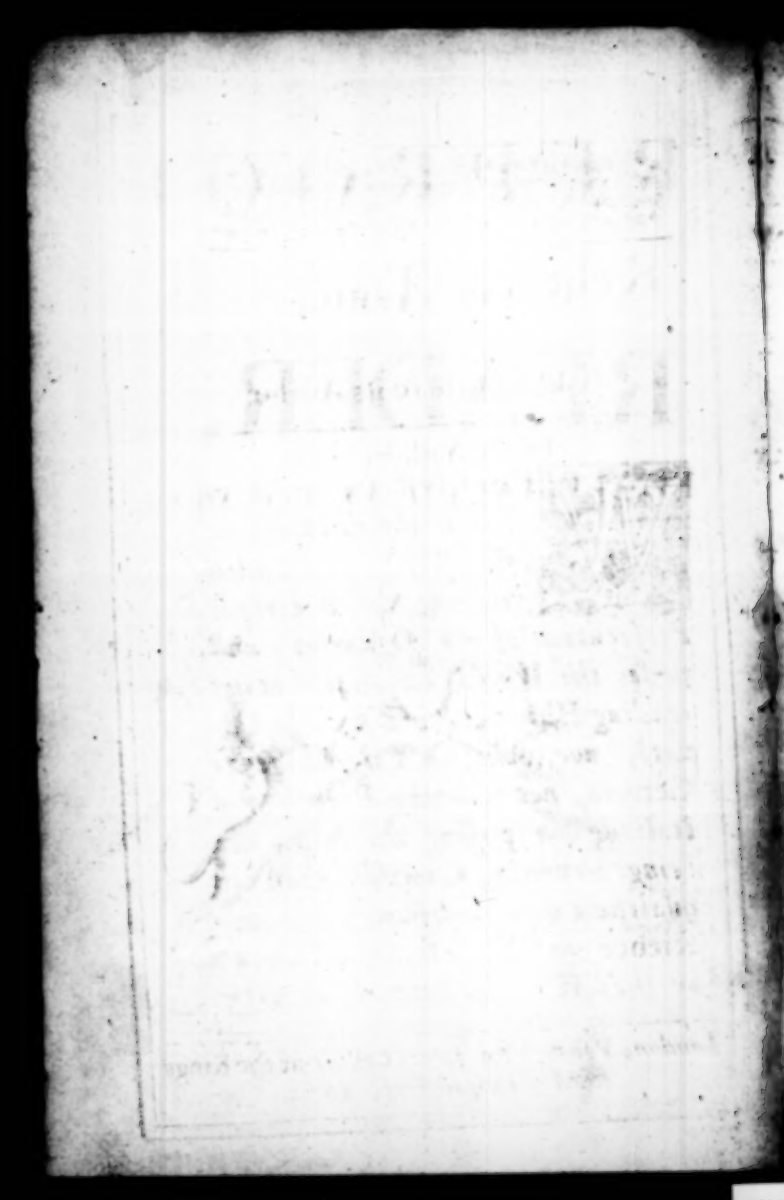

TO THE
READER,

When I first condemn'd my self to the drudgery of this Reply, *I intended nothing but a serious Prosecution of my Argument; and to let the World see that it is not reading Histories, or Plays, or Gazets, nor going a Pilgrimage to* Geneva, *nor learning French and Italian, nor passing the* Alps, *nor being a cunning Gamester that can qualifie a man to discourse of* Conscience *and* Ecclesiastical Policy; *in that it is not capping an Argu-*

ment with a ſtory that will anſwer it, nor clapping an Apothegm upon an Aſſertion that will prove it, nor ſtringing up Proverbs and Similitudes upon one another that will make up a Coherent Diſcourſe. And for a great while I kept cloſe to my reſolution, and contented my ſelf to expoſe the man's Ignorance, without laughing at it: But he is all along ſo ridiculous, that at laſt Fleſh and Blood could not refrain from being a little pleaſant with him. And as it chances it happens not unluckily, *for I hope I have hereby given an Example, how it is poſſible to be* ſerious *and merry* with a Buffoon without violating the Laws of Decorum, *and to diſcourſe with a Clown* as long time as I have been writing *without being rude or angry. I have been much*

much more tedious than at firſt I deſign'd, and indeed than was neceſſary to correct ſuch a Yelper. But as I would not have you think that I have taken all this pains for his ſake, ſo let me tell you that when I undertake an Argument I love (as far as I am able) to handle it to ſome purpoſe, and how mean ſoever the occaſion of my writing may be, to contrive a Book as uſeful to the Reader, as if I had not been bound to trace another man's follies, but had been left at liberty to purſue the Reſults of my own mind. Thus did I heretofore deal with J. O, *and thus have I now dealt with this Trifler, from their Impertinences to take advantage of diſcourſing upon material and pertinent Arguments. And therefore the main deſign of this enſuing Treatiſe,*

Treatiſe, beſide juſtifying my Grand Theſis *of the Kings Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction againſt Perverſeneſs and Impudence, is taken up partly in carrying on my old War againſt Faction and Non-conformity, and putting an end to all my trouble in it, not only by baffling them but forcing them to ſee themſelves baffled, and convincing the Ring-leaders that they have nothing left to truſt to, but their own Impudence and the Peoples dulneſs: But chiefly in ſhewing that certain and inviolable confederacy that there has always been between Non-conformity and the* Good old Cauſe; *ſo that whenever one of them appears at* Top, *the other is ſure to lurk at* Bottom; *and if I have proved it (as I think I have ſufficiently) I may leave it to others to make out the Conſequences.*

ces. But judge you whether I have not been hard put to it by this bold man, when the hardeſt Task he has put me to, has been to prove that the King and the Loyal Party were not the only guilty Perſons in reference to the late Rebellion. And now I think I have born Teſtimony *enough for the Peace and Welfare of my Countrey, and ſo I have done; if it be to any effect, I have a double reward; if to none, I have my own. I have no other Civility to requeſt of the Reader, than only to deſire him, that if he ſhall think what I have written worth his peruſal, to read it over with an unprejudiced Mind and an ordinary Attention, and then if he do not conclude this trifling man that has put me to all this trouble as deſpicable a Scribler as e-*

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ver blotted Paper, I must confess I have lost not only my labour but my Understanding.

SIR,

SIR,

I Have perused Your Book, and of This you might have been sooner informed, had I not (immediately after I had undertaken your Correction) been prevented by a dull and lazy distemper; but being in some measure recruited, I have, as my health and leisure would permit, given my self the divertisement of these following Animadversions. You have indeed taken the Advantage (though it is cowardly and dishonourably done to take it) of accosting me in such a clownish and licentious way of writing, as you know to be unsuitable both to the Civility of my Education, and the Gravity of my Profession. And this is so like the Ingenuity of the Brother-hood, that I all along both foresaw and foretold it. It has ever been their old Artifice, that when they are baffled out of all their impotent Pretences by dint of Reason and Argument, that then they should hire some Buffoon

to recover their Credit and Cauſe by downright Rudeneſs and Impudence. But this device ſhall not ſerve their turn, no fooling ſhall divert me from the ſerious proſecution of my Deſign. And though I ſhall not *baulk any good jeſts* (if they will thruſt themſelves upon me) *for fear of the day of judgment*, as you forſooth ridiculouſly and impudently enough pretend to have rejected thouſands meerly upon that account; yet however I ſhall for a better reaſon forbear hunting after them, (*viz.*) to convince the world how little Wit is requiſite to prove that you have none at all. There is nothing more required to make ſome Creatures ridiculous, than barely to ſhew them. And by that time I have diſpatcht all that I ſhall think convenient to chaſtiſe the folly and raſhneſs of your Undertaking, I am pretty confident you will have ſo much occaſion to look ſimply, that the company will be fully ſatisfied there will be but little need of ſending for a witty man to put you out of countenance.

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In the firſt place then after a long train of Beginning of 96 Pages, that might indifferently ſerve againſt all the Eccleſiaſtical Politicians from the beginning to the

the end of the World, I find you at length begin under pretence of Animadverſions upon a Preface, to attaque all my Diſcourſes of Eccleſiaſtical Polity; and immediately fall on front and reere, and with an horrid deal of noiſe and aſtoniſhment warn all Mankind that the Grand Theſis upon which I ſtake (you all along ſpeak the language of a gameſter) not only all my own Divinity and Policy, Reputation, Preferment and Conſcience, but even the Crowns and Fate of Princes, and the Liberties, Lives and Eſtates, and which is more, the Conſciences of their Subjects, is this; *That it is abſolutely neceſſary to the peace and government of the world, that the Supreme Magiſtrate of every Common-wealth ſhould be veſted with a Power to govern and conduct the Conſciences of Subjects, in affairs of Religion.* Is it ſo? why what then? what then! why nothing at all but this is the grand Theſis. For you are not provided with one ſyllable of objection againſt it, and have not ſpent ſo much as a Tale or a Jeſt or a Quibble in its confutation. You are a right Champion for the Fanatique Cauſe, that can confute any Argument with face and confidence. There is no diſputing ſuch an Adverſary without an Pag. 56.

head-piece. This is only tilting of foreheads, where the hardeſt skull, not the fulleſt, muſt get the victory. Away you trifling Wretch, talk you no more of Eccleſiaſtical Policy, and hereafter never pretend to any knowledge that pretends either to Reaſon or Modeſty! for had you any ſenſe of the former, you would never have been ſo ſilly as to be ſo ſeriouſly ſcared at ſuch an innocent and undeniable propoſition; or any of the latter, you could never have been ſo impudent as to bray forth ſuch a confident and heinous cenſure againſt it, as if it were notoriouſly evident without proof that it directly ſubverts all the Principles of Religion and Government. And therefore I would fain know in good earneſt what your meaning was, in making your firſt onſet upon this Grand Theſis? If you intended its Confutation, why have you not diſcharged ſo much as one ſemi-vowel of exception againſt it? If you did not, to what purpoſe is it to trouble your ſelf, and the world with its Quotation? A man (in my Opinion) had as good altogether, unleſs he be very idle, keep his mouth ſhut as gape and yet ſay nothing. If this be the Grand Theſis, in compariſon whereof

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the reſt of my Aſſertions (as you inform us) are to be reckoned no better than ſneaking Corollaries, and if I bottom all the foundations of Government and Religion upon it, and make it more neceſſary to the ſupport of the World than the Pillars of the Earth, or the eight Elephants; one would think this, if any thing, ſhould have been battered down with knocking and dead-doing Arguments, and here, if any where, one would have expected you ſhould have given an hot and fierce alarm, and have drawn up all your ſquadrons of vowels, mutes, ſemivowels, and liquids; and by the next Gazet to have heard of a ſorer and more dreadful battel than ever was fought in your Grammar-War, or my Roman Empire. Now after all this Threatning and Preparation, what a diſappointment muſt it be to the Readers and Spectators to ſee ſo proud an He that bore up ſo bravely, and with ſuch a manful Confidence, come off with this ſoft and gentle Rebuke, Verily and indeed now it is a naughty Propoſition, ay, and all that. Thou a Rat-Divine! thou haſt not the Wit and Learning of a Mouſe; when thou endeavour'ſt to bite, thou canſt not ſo much as nibble. Thou talk of Government, of the Crowns Pag. 58.

and State of Princes! to School, Truant, mind your Push-pin, and con your eight parts of Speech, and presume not hereafter to cavil at things that are above the capacity and concern of Boys and Girls, and sucking-bottles.

And yet to the same purpose (that is, to none at all) is that tedious train of Quotations that you bring in at the tail of this, without passing any smarter remarque upon them than the same general censure of Malignancy; though if they are chargeable, there was no need of your Edition, for they were in print before; and therefore it is but fit you should be endited for a scandalous Plagiary to transcribe so much of my Book to no other purpose than only to make up 6 pages towards your full tale of 326. I believe it will be found against the Laws of the Stationers-hall, for your Book-seller to print so much of another mans Copy, after it is enter'd according to Order, without his leave and consent, and I hope Mr *Martyn* will seek his remedy against the Assigns of *John Calvin* and *Theodore Beza*. They are bold and sawcy fellows, as it is the nature of every thing to be so that relates to *Geneva*. But you and I will not concern our selves in their

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Controverſies: they know without our information, as well as any Vermine in Chriſtendom, how to manage their own Affairs by the intrigues and myſteries of their own Trade. At leaſt it more concerns me to keep cloſe to your ſelf, for they tell me, that if a man will keep continually running after a mad dog, it is the only way to ſecure himſelf from being bitten. Tell me therefore quickly in anſwer to the Grand Theſis; do you ſeriouſly believe, that his Majeſty has no Power in matters of Religion? What then becomes of all your Acts of Parliament againſt Popery ever ſince the Reformation, nay, what then becomes of the Declaration it ſelf for Indulgence and Liberty of Conſcience, in which his Majeſty declares that he therein only makes uſe of that *Supreme Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, which is not only inherent in the Crown, but has been declared and recognized to be ſo by ſeveral Statutes and Acts of Parliament.* Beſide, do you not think it poſſible for men to create publique diſturbances under pretences of Religion? Was there never any Rebellion carried on by popular Zeal and Reformation? Did you never hear of any men that ſet up Chriſts Standard in defiance to their Pag. 4.

Princes, and that fought againſt his Perſon at leaſt, only to carry on the work of the Lord, and that have murther'd and baniſht Kings, only to dethrone Antichriſt and the Whore? You ſo great a Traveller! and did you never hear the Countrey people tell ſtories of the merry pranks of *John* of *Leydon*, and the Anabaptiſts of *Germany*? You ſo great an Hiſtorian! and never read of any Kingdomes and Empires ſome time or other embroil'd or deſtroyed by Arts of Religion? You would be an Hiſtorian indeed, if you could but name any one Nation in the World, whoſe Annals do not afford us variety of ſad ſtories to this purpoſe: And then after all this, dare you be ſo confident as to declare it is abſolutely unlawful, and in all caſes, for any Prince to claim or exerciſe any Authority over Conſcience or Religion? If you dare not, but allow a neceſſity of Coercion in ſome caſes, then after all your confidence you grant the truth, and juſtifie the innocence of the Grand Theſis, (*viz.*) That it is neceſſary to the Peace and Government of the World, that the Supreme Magiſtrate of every Commonwealth ſhould be veſted with a Power to govern and conduct the Conſciences of

Subjects

Subjects in affairs of Religion. An Asser-tion so obvious and so harmless, that ne-ver any People in the World had so lit-tle brains, or so much forehead as to deny it to all Intents, but only the salvage Ana-baptists of *Germany*; and they indeed claim'd an absolute exemption from the Civil Power for themselves, and that on-ly upon the priviledge of Saint-ship, but then they equally cancell'd all Govern-ment, and protested against all manner of Subjection either to Secular or Eccle-sia-stical Juris-diction. But excepting these inhumane Canibals, this *Grand Thesis* that you suppose to be so grossly absurd, that barely to name it is enough to expose the person that shall maintain it as an-open enemy to God and Man, is so grant-ed and undoubted a truth, that it is plain-ly ratified by the unanimous consent of all mankind.

Nay, when a man has demonstrated its certainty from that unavoidable influ-ence that Religion alwayes has upon the peace of Kingdomes, and the interests of Government, and from those intolerable mischiefs that must follow upon its exem-ption from the Civil Power; from the na-tural tendency of Enthusiasm and Super-stition to publick disturbance; from the

boldness

boldneſs and inſolence of Fanatique Zeal, from the nature and original of Government, from the practice and preſcription of all Ages, and from all the topicks of Reaſon and Experience; and when he has ſtated and confined its exerciſe within eaſie and diſcernable bounds, and has prevented all cavils and pretences of diſlike, unleſs only ſuch as daſh as fiercely upon the very foundations of all Civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. After all this pains is it not a ſad thing to ſee all blown up with meer confidence and preſumption, and if a bold man will but ſay Tuſh, 'tis falſe, without any proof or reaſon for his diſlike, away it all flys *in fumo*. I have inſiſted the longer upon this, becauſe as it is the Grand Theſis of my Books, ſo it is the firſt Eſſay of your courage, that by this firſt Specimen of your Wit, the World may take a true ſcantling of your parts and abilities. But having thus nimbly diſpatch'd this general Theſis, you proceed to your particular Exceptions, where you ſumm up your Charge in Six Heads, which you ſometimes entitle Playes, ſometimes Hypotheſes, ſometimes Aphoriſms; and why not Plots, and Scenes, and Walks, and under-walks, *&c?* The firſt is the *Unli-*

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mited Magiſtrate, or as you eloquently expreſs it *pag.* 246. *his unhoopable Juriſdiction*. A Metaphor taken from a Tub, I ſuppoſe, becauſe you find Power in your Book of Apothegms compared to liquor, for a certain Reaſon known to every body, though no body has expreſt it ſo happily as your ſelf, *viz.* becauſe if *it be infinitely diffuſed or extended, it becomes impotency, even as a ſtreight line continued grows a circle*. I will leave it to the Mathematicians to conſider how it is poſſible for a ſtreight line to become a circle by being infinitely ſtreight. But however for this reaſon it is neceſſary to *hoop up* the Authority of Princes, leſt they too ſoon weaken themſelves by too great a leakage of their Power; ſo that methinks according to your notion, there is nothing ſo patly emblematical of Soveraign Princes, as *Dufoy* in his Tub, or a Pig under a waſh-bole, and if you would define them ſuitably to the conceit, they are nothing elſe but ſo many veſſels of Authority, ſome Kinderkins, ſome Hogſheads, and ſome Tuns, according to the circuit or hoop of their Government. Though as you and your Puritan Coopers, or (as Mar-prelate words it) *Tub-trimmers*, have been pleaſed to contract their Power, all the

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the Empire in the world might eaſily be contained in a pipkin or a quart pot, and he would pay dear for it, that ſhould purchaſe the Kings Supremacy at the price of a jug of Ale. For when you have once exempted Conſcience out of the circle of humane Laws, the greateſt and moſt abſolute Monarchs upon earth will be reduced to as ſcant a meaſure of Authority as your Mock-kings of *Brentford*, in that there is nothing in humane nature directly liable to their Obligation but only Conſcience: and therefore if that muſt be let looſe from the commands of Superiours, nothing elſe can bind them. So wretchedly are ſuch bunglers as you wont to talk, that only ſuck in, and then pour out your phraſes by rote and at random: and becauſe ſome of the Ancients have ſometimes diſcourſed of Conſcience in Metaphorical and looſe expreſſions (as they do of all things elſe) calling it ἔνοικος θεὸς the *Domeſtick God*, ἐπίτροπος δαίμων *the Guardian Angel*, &c. you muſt by all means take them in the literal ſenſe, and diſcourſe of Conſcience, as if it were ſome little Spirit or Puppet Intelligence within you diſtinct from your ſelves, ſo that though you are His Majeſties moſt humble and loyal Sub-

jects,

jects, yet as for your dear and tender Conſciences you muſt have them excuſed by the Laws of Hoſpitality, that is to ſay, you owe him Obedience in all things, excepting only thoſe in which he does or can require it, for wherever the man is bound to obey, his Conſcience, and only that is bound to obey, it being the only principle in him that is capable of Obligation: and therefore if that be abſolved from all engagements of Allegiance, and all tyes of Duty, the caſe is plain, the whole man is at perfect Liberty. And all Subjects may huff and rant it to their Princes teeth, as well as your proud Almanzor.

Obey'd as Soveraign by thy Subjects be,
But know that I alone am King of me.

Conq. of Granada.

You ſee then there is no remedy but Conſcience you muſt ſubmit to the Juriſdiction of your Prince, if you will ſubmit your ſelves. Yes, but you would not have it unlimited and unhoopable as I have ſtated it. But Sir, give me leave to tell you, that though it ſhould be unlimited, it does not at all follow that it would be unhoopable, becauſe it would be (as you inform us) like a ſtreight line continued into a circle. Now I will maintain it againſt all the Mathematicians

ans in *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*, and the *Terra Incognita* of *Geneva* too, (you must bear with me, for in some cases I cannot avoid this confidence) that all circles, as well as all other figures how big soever, are hoopable things.

But for all my jesting, my own words are upon Record, where I have vested
Pag. 140. every Supreme Magistrate *with an universal and unlimited Power, and uncontroulable in the Government of Religion, that is to say* (say you) *over mens Consciences*, and that is to say (say I) that some mens Consciences are concern'd in nothing but matters of Religion. Well, seeing you are content to give *Macedo* for a finisht and burnisht piece of modesty; now then welfare *J. O.* for a modest thing, for he had the Grace to load me with this Calumny before you, but then he had the Grace to take his Answer too. And it is possible, though it is scarce credible, that he might stumble into such an horrid mistake through haste and inadvertency, for you know he alwayes writes post. But what a Colosse of Brass are you, that after I have given him such humbling and convictive rebuke for it, persist so obstinately in the very same tract of forgery and falsification.

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The Anſwer I gave him was eaſie enough for your underſtanding as meek as it is, *viz.* That in that Paragraph where I aſſerted the Supreme Government of every Common-wealth to be *Univerſal*, *Abſolute* and *Uncontroulable* in all affairs whatſoever, that concern the Intereſts of mankind, and the ends of Government, it was only in oppoſition to the pretences of a diſtinct Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction here on earth. For having firſt aſſerted the neceſſity of a Soveraign Power over the affairs of Religion, from their concernment in the Peace and Government of the world, I thence proceeded to enquire where and in whom it ought to reſide; and having ſhewn the inconſiſtency of erecting two Supreme Secular Powers, one over Civil, and the other over Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, I concluded that the Supreme Government of every Common-wealth muſt of neceſſity be *Univerſal*, *Abſolute* and *Uncontroulable*, in that it muſt extend its Juriſdiction as well to affairs of Religion, as to affairs of State, becauſe they are ſo ſtrongly influential upon the Intereſts of Mankind, and the Ends of Government. And now is this to make the Eccleſiaſtical Authority of the Civil Magiſtrate abſolutely Paramount

mount without regard to any other Jurisdiction of what nature soever, when I only maintain it in defiance to the claims of any other humane Power? For this was the only subject of that enquiry. And when I asserted the Soveraign Power to be Absolute and Uncontroulable, 'tis apparent nothing else could be intended than that it is not to be controuled by any distinct Power, whether of the Pope or the Presbytery (for they are the only Rivals of the Princes of Christendome.) And when I asserted it to be Universal and Absolute, no man unless he would give his mind to misunderstanding, could understand it in any other sense, than that it was not confined to matters purely Civil, but extended its Jurisdiction to matters of an Ecclesiastical Importance, upon which account alone I determin'd it to be *Absolute, Universal and Uncontroulable.* This is the main and the fundamental Article of the Reformation, and that which distinguishes the truly Orthodox and Catholick Protestant both from Popish and Presbyterian Recusants, and is the only fence to secure the Thrones of Princes against the dangerous encroachments of those bold and daring Sects; and therefore from so plain and avowed

avowed a Truth to charge me for aſcribing in general terms an Abſolute, Univerſal and Uncontroulable power to the Civil Magiſtrate over the Conſciences of men in matters of Religion, argues more boldneſs than wit and diſcretion, and gives us ground to ſuſpect that theſe men are not leſs forſaken of ſhame and modeſty than they are of Providence: for it muſt needs be a very bold face and a very hard forehead, that could ever venture to obtrude ſuch palpable and diſingenuous Abuſes upon the world. This I think was anſwer enough for him, and is I am ſure too much for you.

But when beſide this I have drawn up a brief and plain account of the parts, the coherence, and the deſign of my firſt Treatiſe to prevent you from abuſing the People for the future with ſuch rude miſtakes and pervertings: for you to repeat the very ſame Leaſing is (if any thing is) falſe Heraldry, 'tis braſs upon braſs. And when I have there ſo ſtated the Controverſy as to provide with equal care and caution againſt the Inconveniences of both extremes, an unlimited Power on the one hand, and an unbounded Licence on the other; when the bounds I have propoſed are ſo very

eaſie to be obſerved, and ſo unneceſſary to be tranſgreſſ'd by all Partys concern'd, *viz.* that Governours only take care not to impoſe things certainly and apparently evil; and that ſubjects be not allowed to plead Conſcience for diſobedience in any other caſe; and when I have ſo carefully avoided all kind of ſeverity more than is abſolutely neceſſary to the preſervation of Government and the peace of Mankind, with many other things ſo eaſie and ſo obvious that there is ſcarce any thing to excuſe me from Impertinency in taking ſo much pains to prove them but their Manifeſt Neceſſity.

After all this I beſeech you (by the tyes of ancient Friendſhip) deal clearly and candidly with me, and tell me upon what other principles I could have diſcourſed more ſafely or more innocently upon this Argument, though it is poſſible I might have done it more wittily by the help of your friend *Bays*; who ſuppoſing two Kings of *Brentford*, one for example a Secular, the other an Eccleſiaſtical King, remarks upon it that *the People having the ſame Relations to both, the ſame Affections, the ſame Duty, the ſame Obedience, and all that; would be divided among themſelves in point of de-*

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voir and interest how to behave themselves equally between them: these Kings differing sometimes in particular though in the main they agree. And therefore what if they should agree to divide their Empire, and one be King of the Land-men, and the other of the Water-men, or one to rule by night and the other by day, or take their turns of Government by weeks or months? but this device would not do, for where there are two supreme Powers in the same Common-wealth, there can be no avoiding civil jars and bloody-noses. So that for this reason had I been a Senator of *Brentford* I should have humbly proposed that either King *Phys* or *vice versâ* King *Vss* might be vested with the absolute and uncontroulable Power of the Empire, *i. e.* with both kinds of jurisdiction, *because otherwise* (as he proceeds shrewdly) *the People being embarrast by their equal Tyes to both, and the Sovereign's concern'd in a reciprocal regard to their own Interest, as to the good of the People; may make a certain kind of a —— you understand me —— upon which there does arise several disputes, turmoils, heart-burnings, and all that ——* Ay, this is pregnant and demonstrative, and does not fob us off (as you always

do) with empty tittle tattle, without any colour or pretence of reaſon. And had it come to hand time enough, I might have been as much beholden to it for ſence as you have been for wit; for ſo you will have it that I have pilfer'd all my beſt, or (in your own Poetick phraſe) *rapping* flowers out of Play-books, and ſeveral choice ones you have in ſpite of Almanacks and Chronology diſcover'd in my firſt Book that were by all means filch'd out of this very Play, though as fortune would have it this was not made any way publick till above two years after that. But waving the advantage of *Bays* his Aſſiſtance and every body elſe, and relying upon my own ſingle ſtrength and preſumption, after all my care and pains to way-lay Calumny, could I ever ſuſpect any thing in the ſhape of a man ſo deſperately fallen from all ſenſe of Conſcience or Modeſty as to upbraid me with aſcribing an infinite juriſdiction to Princes without any regard to the Divine Laws? Well! I now ſee what it is for a man to live in his ſtudy, and be unacquainted with the world; for my part I could never have ſuppoſed it poſſible that Mankind could ever by Travel and Converſation emprove it ſelf to ſuch an height of Confidence.

Eſpecially

Eſpecially when there is not any one Writer extant either ancient or modern, that I know of, that has ſo vehemently and induſtriouſly aſſerted the *hoopableneſs* of all humane Authority as I have done; And when in particular I have ſpent two whole Chapters in my firſtBook to prove, that as the oppoſite opinion is no leſs than rank Atheiſm or Blaſphemy, ſo it utterly ſubverts the Power of all Government, and irrecoverably deſtroys the ſafety of all ſocieties in the World. This Confidence of yours is ſo provoking that I cannot but wonder your ears have not done Penance for the rudeneſs of your Tongue. *Macedo!* thou art able to outforge and outbrazen ten *Macedos*. And yet ſo aſſured are the drivers of the diſſenting Herd, and ſo ſilly the Creatures they ſtear, that there is ſcarce a Shop-Divine in the whole Nation, that does not as heartily believe this *unhoopable Juriſdiction* to be the only deſign of all my Books as he does the ten Commandments to be obligatory, or the Apoſtles Creed to be true. But when my innocence as to this charge is ſo infinitely clear, and when they have nothing to object againſt me or to plead in their own behalf but upon its preſumption, that is

a demonſtrative Argument of a baffled and defenceleſs cauſe, that can be defended with no other weapon but impudent and bare-faced Calumny. And now when you have once taken this for granted, away you run clattering with abundance of noiſe and nothing, till you fall into another ſtory full as lowd and
Pag. 110. ratling as this. That I have complemented his Majeſty ſo far as to inform him, *that he may, if he pleaſe, reſerve the Prieſthood and the exerciſe of it to himſelf.* So ſaid *J. O.* too, and was very pleaſant in his Remarques upon it, but was I ſuppoſe ſufficiently ſatisfied or at leaſt ſilenced with this plain and ſimple Anſwer. That in the Paragraph (againſt which this Objection is level'd) I undertook to give a brief Hiſtorical account of the Original of all Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Government, where I ſhewed how in the firſt Ages of the World they were veſted in the ſame Perſon, and founded upon the ſame Right of paternal Authority: and in this State of things antecedent to all ſuperinduced Reſtraints and poſitive Inſtitutions, I aſſerted the ſupreme Magiſtrate might, if he pleaſed, reſerve the exerciſe of the Prieſthood to himſelf; And ſo all Writers, that I know of, aſ-

ſert

ſert as well as I. Though afterwards the Prieſtly office was in the Jewiſh Common-wealth expreſly derogated from the Kingly Power, by being ſetled upon the Tribe of *Levi* and the Line of *Aaron*; and ſo likewiſe in the Chriſtian Church by being appropriated to the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, that derive their Prieſtly Office and Power from our Bleſſed Saviours expreſs and immediate Commiſſion.

Now what I affirm'd of things in the bare State of Nature without the guidance of Revelation, for this man to repreſent it, as if I had applyed it indifferently to all Ages and Periods of the Church, by whatſoever poſitive Laws and different Inſtitutions they may be govern'd, is wonderfully ſuitable to the Genius of his own Wit and Ingenuity. But though I think *I have paſſed ſo high a Complement upon his Majeſty, this only troubles you, how his Majeſty would look in all the Sacerdotal Habiliments, and the Pontifical Wardrobe.* Alas good man! Your tender heart would not ſerve you to behold the Ceremonies of the Coronation. The Rebels Wounds bled too freſh in your Memory, it would have rubb'd up all the late ſad ſpectacles at pag. 111.

Cheering-Cross, and minded you of all those choice ones that were hang'd to make way for this great Solemnity, for whose sakes the 29. of *May* is annually observed among the secret ones as a day of private humiliation to bemoan the loss and commemorate the Martyrdom of so many anointed and precious Brethren. But as for the malicious Consequence, that you out of stark staring Love to the Church (of which you are so enamour'd, *that it even joys your Heart to hear any thing well said of her*) suggest upon this Occasion: *that then he may (and it is all the reason in the World he should) assume the Revenue too*, it only shews your Judgment at nicking a Lucky juncture of Affairs: When you have put the King in mind of his Coronation-Oath, in which he swears, *to protect and defend the Bishops and the Churches under their Government, to preserve their Canonical Privileges, to confirm the Laws, Customes and Franchises granted to the Clergy by the glorious King St.* Edward, *and all other Kings of* England *his Lawful and Religious Predecessours*: Immediately, whilst this Oath is piping hot, to advise him to disfranchise them from the common rights of all Subjects, and to invade their Proprieties not only

only contrary to his ſolemn Oath, but to the moſt ancient and moſt ratified Laws of the Realm. But methinks it more concerns the Parliament than any private man to chaſtiſe ſuch bold and laviſh talk, as plainly ſubverts the very foundations of all our Proprieties; in that the Churches Rights and Revenues are veſted in her by as firm and fundamental Laws as any by which you or I can hold or claim our Eſtates; ſo that the Laws of *England* have made but a very ſilly proviſion for any mans Birthright, if they are not a ſufficient ſecurity for the Churches Patrimony. And it becomes ſuch a tender aſſertor of the Engliſh Liberties to inſinuate the ſubverſion of thoſe Laws upon which alone they are founded. I hope you will be conſider'd for your pains, at leaſt for your good will: it is no wonder to ſee you upon all occaſions ſo afraid of Pillories and Whipping-Poſts; for if you are reſolved to follow theſe courſes, and at laſt go uncropt to your Grave, it will be a ſcandal to the Juſtice of the Nation.

But before I quit this Maſter-Calumny of the unhoopable Magiſtrate it will not be improper to take an account of your Hoops and Hola's that relate to it; for when

when you have acted over your six Plays you begin them all afresh, (for you have at least eleven or twelve distinct Beginnings) and run them (together with some few coincident passages) all down with *Hoops* and *Hola's*, *i.e.* with noise and confidence. The first next to these I have answer'd is that I have asserted the unhoopable Power wherewith I have invested Princes to be their Natural Right
Pag. 143. and Antecedent to Christ, *&c.* But oh the Consequence! *then his Majesty may lay by his Dieu and make use only of his Mon-droit.* Hoop and Hola! hold, not too lowd, for it does not so necessarily follow, that because he has his Patent under the Broad-Seal of Nature, that therefore he derived it not from God, for as much as Nature it self has no power of making grants, but all its Commissions are sign'd only by the Author of Nature, and all Natural Rights whatsoever are the Immediate Gifts of his Providence, that has order'd and disposed the frame of Nature according to his own Sovereign Will and Pleasure; and therefore you must resolve all Natural Rights as well as all Natural Laws into his Authority, for though Nature may discover, yet it is only he that passes and enacts

acts them. But I know this Inference was not made for any great opinion you had of its Logick, it was only intended for a boast of your Antiquary-Learning, to let the World know how deeply you skill in old Coins and Inscriptions; and so take this occasion to acquaint us with this ancient Motto, that you have pick'd out among the *Marmora Arundeliana*, *Dieu & Mon-Droit*. But seeing you are given to these Curiosities, here is a Trial worthy of your skill. I have seen and (pardon my Vanity) was once Master of an *Antique Medal*,

On the Reverse whereof was graved
Th' alliance betwixt Christ and David,

Expound me the meaning of the *Device*, and tell me in what Emperours Reign it was Coin'd, and I will upon the word of a Clergy-man of Honour requite your Information with ten of the largest *Decus & Tutamens*: and that is a very scarce Medal (you know,) though not altogether so *antique*.

But however (say you) this Power I have ascribed to the Civil Magistrate, is not derived from Christ, or any grant of his, but is antecedent to his coming, or Pag. 143.

any

any Power granted by him as Head of the Church, being given under the Broad-Seal of Nature, ſo that his Majeſty is next under that, and immediately before Chriſt, over all Perſons and in all Cauſes *&c.* This is very ſhrewd, but then it is none of your own, *J. O.* had it before you, and in truth you are ſo given to purloining, that I expect ere long to hear of you among the Advertiſements at the bottom of the Gazet, with a deſcription of your Stature, Complexion and Cloaths. But the reſult of all that we diſcourſed upon this point was that he
Pag. 276. ſaid I, and I ſaid no, becauſe though Magiſtrates were veſted with an Ancient and Antecedent Right, yet its Continuance, ever ſince our Saviour commenced his Empire, depends merely upon his confirmation, in that whatever Prince does not reverſe a former grant confirms it. And therefore, though they were impowr'd to govern the Church of God antecedent to his Supremacy, yet that they are ſtill intruſted with the ſame Authority, they owe it entirely to his Sovereign Will and Pleaſure, becauſe it is now in his Power to deveſt them of this or any other of their ancient Prerogatives: ſo that ſeeing he has thought good

to

to continue the Government of the World in the ſame ſtate and Poſture he found it in, Princes are not now leſs indebted to him for the grant of their Imperial Power, than if they had been at firſt inſtated in it by his immediate and expreſs Commiſſion. This is a pretty reaſonable anſwer to any plain man that has any ſtomach to be ſatisfied, but it is too homely a Truth for your Palate, nothing forſooth will down with you under the *Geneva* race of Capons and Mathematical Similitudes. The ſtreight Line continued into a Circle! that is a Treat for a Gentleman that has Travel'd and underſtands the Orthodoxy of modern eating and drinking.

The laſt Eſſay of your ſhame-facedneſs (for it is a great ſymptom of Modeſty that you will not venture to be confident in any Objection for which you have not ſome Authority; ſo that you dare not ſay one word that *J.O.* has not ſaid before you) is to ſtand in it that when *J.O.* affirmed that *I confine the whole work and duty of Conſcience to the inward acts and perſwaſions of the mind*, it was no downright Lye. By this I perceive your whole family of the ſecret ones are incurably addicted to leaſing, and therefore as then I gave

him

him the Lye, ſo now without any farther Complement I give it you Sir. It is but a blunt and Yeomanly Jeſt, and I muſt confeſs ſmells ſomewhat of Garlick and Onions, but it may ſerve for once though it were only for variety; downright Engliſh is in ſome Caſes as good a Flower as the faireſt Trope in *Ariſtotle's* Rhetorick. And I ſtill declare that though it is no extraordinary conceit, yet it is the beſt and moſt proper Repartee, that my barren fancy is yet able to ſuggeſt to me upon ſo rude an occaſion. And tell me Sir, for I have already made my appeal, that ſuppoſe it were your own caſe, that ſhould any Perſon be ſo bold and diſingenuous as not only to pervert the meaning, and diſturb the method of your Book (I mean if you could write one with either) but faſten upon you aſſertions equally falſe and wicked, without any Reference to Page or Section, and without any imaginable foundation of his miſtake, what other return would you vouchſafe to ſuch an unmannerly attempt than what I have made? If you would not return the ſame, thanks to your Cowardize more than your Civility. And therefore as for what you ſeem to threaten, that ſuch a provocation muſt needs come to a quarrel, fear not,

there's

there's no danger of Blood-ſhed: We that are no Brothers of the Blade know how to put up harder and more girding Repartees than this with Patience and Philoſophy. This is all the anſwer I will vouchſafe you for your own ſake, and revenge your ſelf as you can. But becauſe both your ſelf and *J. O.* have this *Rapper* perpetually in your mouths when you have nothing elſe to ſay, I will for the Readers ſake beſtow upon you another Reply ſomewhat more ſoft and gentle, eſpecially when I hope it was not altogether loſt upon *J. O.* becauſe as you have obſerved moſt gravely and Senator-like *that ſerious words have produced ſerious effects.* Thus when upon another occaſion he tells no body but all the Nation, *that the thing by me aſſerted is that a man may think, judge or conceive ſuch or ſuch a thing to be his Duty, and yet have thereby no Obligation put upon him to perform it: for Conſcience we are inform'd has nothing to do beyond the inward thoughts of mens minds.* In anſwer to this it was inquired who gave in the Information, becauſe the Informer (whoever he is) would in ſome Courts of Juſtice have jeoparded ſomething that he would be loth to loſe for ſo lewd and bold a Forgery. Phy!

Pag. 200.

Pag. 251. of *J. O.*

Phy!

phy! for ſhame give over this pitiful Legerdemain. Such open and viſible falſifications ſerve only to expoſe the lewdneſs of your Cauſe and your Conſcience, and if you delight in ſuch wretched Practices they will in proceſs of time betray you to more pernicious Courſes: for what ſhould hinder a man that can pervert and falſifie at this rate, from forging Wills, and ſetting counterfeit Hands to Deeds? Neither fear nor modeſty can ever reſtrain him, that dares venture upon abuſes ſo palpable, when it is ſo abſolutely impoſſible you ſhould ever hope to eſcape the ſhame and rebuke of diſcovery. The Aſſertion it ſelf is one of the chiefeſt and moſt fundamental Maximes of Knavery; and yet it is boldly charged upon me without the leaſt ſhadow or ſyllable of pretence, either to juſtifie the Accuſation, or excuſe the Miſtake. You know as well as I that all I attempted was only to exempt the inward Acts of the minds of men from the Juriſdiction of Humane Power, and ſo to confine their Government to the Empire of mere Conſcience: Now from this aſſertion, that our ſecret thoughts are ſubject to Conſcience only, to infer that Conſcience has no Power but only over our ſecret thoughts, is a concluſion

ſion too abſurd for you to make either in good earneſt or through mere miſtake: This is your Anſwer, if you are not ſatisfied with it, you know my mind and my weapon.

Your laſt and lowdeſt hoop and hola is at my Cenſure of the Clauſe in the Act of Parliament *quinto Eliz.* and you make every where an horrid noiſe about it, and I am confident you have in more than twenty places of your Book rended your throat againſt this preſumption. But be that as it will, the aſperſion you would faſten upon me from it is ſo ſilly, that I am not at all concern'd to wipe it off; however I have diſcourſed enough already to ſatisfie, nay almoſt to ſurfeit any reaſonable man, and if that will not ſuffice you, I am reſolved I will not be impertinent to gratifie your Clowniſhneſs. I will only challenge you and all your party of mankind to maintain That whoever enacts a Law with this Proviſo that it ſhall not bind in Conſcience, enacts no Law: For if it does not oblige that, it obliges nothing. Whether therefore the Clauſe were added by *Cecil* or by the Parliament, I am not concern'd, and though you ſhould throw in the Queen and Convocation and all, I care not, I muſt and

will declare they were all miſerably out in their Divinity.

And as for what you intimate that I have endeavour'd to prove a whole Parliament Coxcombs, that is Language rough enough for your Mouth. For I expreſs'd my ſelf modeſtly enough, and though I obſerved how manifeſtly through this miſtake they abated the obligation of the whole Law, yet I hope it is no Crime againſt the Privilege of any Proteſtant Parliament to ſuppoſe it fallible in any ſpeculation of Divinity. I know their meaning was, that they did not intend to enjoyn that Faſt upon a Religious Account, but that was their Miſtake, in that all Laws Civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical equally oblige the Conſcience, ſo that no Law-giver can make a Law with an intention not to oblige that, and though he do, it is in vain, in that his Laws are bound upon it by virtue of the Divine Command and not his own. But they were then ſo amuſed and confounded by the Clamours of the Papiſts on one hand, that Conſcience was only ſubject to the Church, and by the Puritans on the other, that it is only ſubject to God, that they durſt ſcarce own the proper Obligation of their own Laws, and

and ſo through mere Modeſty clapt in this blind Proviſo.

And now as for all theſe goodly ſlanders, when they were firſt vented by *J. O.* they were little more than an unkindneſs to my ſingle ſelf; and though it argued a fair deal of Confidence in that precious man, to load me ſo briskly with ſo many, ſo great, and ſo ungrounded Calumnies, yet it was a ſign that he had ſome little ſenſe of humanity left, that he could deſiſt when his forgeries were ſo laid open, as to leave the Rat no Craney of excuſe or evaſion. But after ſuch an ample diſcovery of his wretched Cheats and Leaſings, for you to ſtand in them with ſuch a Brazen Brow is a palpable Affront both to the underſtanding and ingenuity of Mankind. What ſoft and changeling ſots muſt you ſuppoſe the people of *England*, to be impoſed upon, and born down by ſuch wrank and bold faced Impoſtures? Did they all walk with their Legs ſcambling in, and their hands dangling down, you could not have more preſumed upon their ſillineſs than you have by going about to abuſe their Credulity with ſuch ſhameleſs and unpalliable Lyes.

The Title of your next Comedy is the

Publick Conſcience, I ſuppoſe in imitation of the *Publick Faith*. And here all your Plot too is borrowed from *J. O.* and the great ſubtilty of it lies no deeper than only in repreſenting what I have determined in the Caſe of a doubting, ſcrupulous and unſatisfied Conſcience, as if I had intended it of Conſcience in general in all matters and as to all events. This is pretty well for Legerdemain, and cleaverly enough performed, and the People have ſwallowed it with a glib and round Aſſurance that I have exhorted them to diſgorge their Conſciences inſtead of their Scruples, and to renounce all Obligations of Vertue and Religion but what are tied upon them by the Laws of the Common-wealth, and to know no other Rule or Meaſure of their Duty, but the will and Pleaſure of their Prince, and when once the outcry is taken, 'tis to no purpoſe for me to plead that this is the very Divinity of the *Leviathan*, that I have labour'd to oppoſe with greater Zeal and Vehemence than I have modern Orthodoxy and Fanaticiſm it ſelf; ſo as to prove (and that I am confident paſt all Contradiction) that thoſe men who profeſs to own no obligations of Conſcience but what are laid upon them by the Commands

mands of their Governours, own none at all; and that without a ſenſe of Duty to God, it is impoſſible to bring any ſubject under a ſenſe of Loyalty to his Prince. But whoop and hola, what is that to them if I contradict my ſelf? Now what ſhould a modeſt man do in this caſe? ſhould I betake my ſelf to your refuge of Dulneſs, that when you have nothing elſe to reply, appeal to the day of Judgment? That indeed is a Trial I hope hereafter to ſtand by, and it is comfort enough to ſupport an upright man, that then at leaſt his integrity ſhall be for ever clear'd; but alas! I have too tender a ſenſe of my preſent Reputation among good men to be willing that ſo great a Blot (were there any way to wipe it off) ſhould lye ſo long upon my Innocence. And therefore Sir, you muſt pardon me for once if I diſpenſe with a point of friendſhip, and leave your credit at pawn to redeem my own. For after you have given in this heinous Charge againſt me, it is not in my power to ſalve both our Reputations. If I am guilty, I do confeſs it, I am a very *Secret one:* if I am not, I will be ſo civil as to give you the Choice of your own Title.

The caſe then is plainly this, that next

to the Paganiſm of *Symbolical* and the Popery of *Latine Ceremonies*, the two grand Pretences, or rather excuſes of Non-conformity are Scandal and an unſatisfied Conſcience. The firſt is the ſhelter of their Leaders, who being at length aſhamed of thoſe Scruples, and little Principles that ſcare the People (though they themſelves at firſt ſet them up to fray them away from the Communion of the Church of *England*) pretend now to comply with them only out of good Nature and Condeſcenſion. For they would not by any means be thought ſo weak and unlearned in their Conceptions of things, as ſeriouſly to fancy that there is any Idolatry or Immorality in our Ceremonial Conſtitutions. But yet becauſe there are ſome ſimple and well-meaning Profeſſors that are not ſufficiently aſſured of their Lawfulneſs, and by Conſequence are apt enough to be ſcandalized at their Uſe, they think themſelves out of pure tenderneſs and compaſſion to theſe weak ones obliged altogether to forbear their Practice. A goodly pretence this to weigh againſt the Commands of Authority, that becauſe ſome of the common People forſooth of weak heads and ſtrong necks are afraid of ſomething

though

though they know not what nor why, that therefore Government muſt tack about, and ſtrike ſail to their folly and ignorance. But the triflingneſs and petulancy of this Scruple I have repreſented upon its own proper Principles; 'tis enough at preſent that it reſolves it ſelf into the pretence of a ſcrupulous and unſatisfied Conſcience; *i. e.* though as yet they know no harm or danger by the things they boggle at, yet they are ſuſpicious and jealous leſt they ſhould not be altogether ſo harmleſs as they appear to be, and therefore deſire to be for a while excuſed their Obedience till they can give themſelves and their Conſciences ſome better and more aſſured ſatisfaction of their Innocence. Now would not any prudent and ſober man think it enough to adviſe them in this perplexity, that this Scruple has long ſince out-worn and out-lived it ſelf; for though it might be allowed of in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*, when at firſt it was ſtarted, yet after ſo long time and ſo much enquiry it is intolerable; for if with all their ſearch and examination they have not been able to deſcry the Evils they ſuſpected, that is a ſufficient Principle of preſumption that their jealouſies are un-

grounded. So that if they are now able to object any certain crime againſt them, then this plea of a doubtful Conſcience ceaſes, and the certainty is to be pleaded inſtead of the doubt. If they are not, an hundred and fifty Years is (one would think) a ſufficient time either to ſatisfie or to cancel Scruples. A man cannot (if he would) always doubt whether if he handle a Frog, it will ſting him, or if he touch the tail of a Glow-worm it will burn his Fingers. And if after all this men will be ſcrupulous and afraid of nothing or they know not what, it is becauſe they will be old Boys, and reſolve when they have once blown a ſoap-bubble, to purſue and keep it up as long as they have breath to follow it. So that it is infinitely unbecoming Authority to ſubmit its Laws to ſuch an exception as this, that can proceed from nothing elſe but invincible Peeviſhneſs and Impertinency.

But if this will not prevail, what can be more effectual upon ingenuous and upright minds than to repreſent that this weakneſs and tenderneſs of Conſcience is ſo far from being any allowable Reaſon of diſobedience, that it lays upon all them that pretend to it peculiar obligations

ligations to obey. Not only becauſe (if they are what they pretend to be) it is of a modeſt, a yielding and a plyable temper as ariſing from diffidence and diſtruſt of it ſelf: but alſo becauſe doubts and ſcruples are rarely employed unleſs upon trifling and inconſiderable matters. In that the material parts of duty are too plain and eaſie to be almoſt at all lyable to ſo much uncertainty; and therefore obedience to Authority being withal one of the greateſt and moſt indiſpenſable dutys of mankind, in that it is in it ſelf ſo abſolutely neceſſary to their well-being, and injoin'd upon them by the moſt poſitive Precepts and ſevereſt penalties of the Goſpel, that alone is more than enough to outweigh all ſcruples and determine all doubts of Conſcience. But more eſpecially in doubtful Caſes of a publick Concern, it is not fit that men ſhould be ſuffered to talk too peremptorily of their own private perſwaſions, becauſe they are incompetent Judges of the publick good, and therefore they are to be determin'd and overruled by the Judgment of thoſe, to whoſe care the management of publick affairs is intruſted, and this to prevail univerſally and without exception, unleſs

unleſs in caſe of certain and unqueſtionable diſobedience to the Divine Law; for we are no other way free from the ſupreme Authority on earth, but as we are ſubject to a Superiour in Heaven, ſo that unleſs where our duty to God manifeſtly interferes, there is no other plea of exemption againſt the Commands of Government. So vain a thing is it for doubts and ſcruples, fears and jealouſies to be put in barr againſt them, when the reſult of all that can amount to no more than this, that they refuſe obedience becauſe they dare not obey, and they dare not, becauſe they dare not, for as yet they have no reaſon to produce, and only deſire to be born with till they can find one, and when after ſo long a ſearch there is none to be found, ſtill and ſtill they crave leave to be ſatisfied till they can, *i. e.* for ever. This is the plain account of all that I diſcourſed of the publick Conſcience.

And now to repreſent what I have determin'd concerning the ſubmiſſion of private Conſcience to its guidance in doubtful and difficult caſes of a publick concernment, as if I had affirmed it of conſcience in general, in all caſes, and to all purpoſes, is ſuch a ſtrein of kindneſs

and

and ingenuity! -- That face of thine is of ſo good proof, and ſo true metal, that were it upon my ſhoulders, I would not exchange it for any crown'd head in *Chriſtendom*: I would ſtare with the great Turk for all his dominions, and though the great *Cham* boaſts himſelf *the Lamp of the world, and ſon of the everlaſting Son*, I would look him out of all his Conqueſts of *China*.

But here you thicken your plot upon us, and under this ſcene of publick conſcience you bring *Chriſtian Liberty* upon the ſtage, and are all upon the ſudden ſo civil as to make your Leg, and con me thanks *for this new and important diſcovery that the great Priviledge of Chriſtian Liberty is, that Thought is free.* This I know you intended only for wit, but that is your want of Judgment; for, I will aſſure you it is a very ſerious truth, and a very important diſcovery, and you had been a very ungrateful Wretch had you not acknowledged it: all the misfortune is, that it is neither new nor mine. Pay your acknowledgments to its right Authors, and be not ſo partial to your friend as to entitle him to the honour of other-mens inventions. That ſuch a maſter of Syſtems and Syntagms! that one pag. 1134

ſo

ſo well acquainted with *Germany* and *Geneva* ſhould ever ſuppoſe me the firſt inventor of ſo old a diſcovery! Alas poor wretch! it is the known and received doctrine of all Divines whether ancient or orthodox, the firſt that taught it (as I remember) were S. *Paul* and S. *Peter*, and your great and infallible *John Calvin* has not been able to go beyond them in this, though he has in moſt other Articles of Religion. Freedom of thought was the utmoſt that he could diſcover upon this Argument. And no man was ever ſuſpected to think otherwiſe, but only the Gnoſtick Fanaticks of old, and the *German* Anabaptiſts of late, that whenever *occaſion* was pleaſed to be *debonair*, had this pretence always in ready pay to warrant any Rebellion and diſobedience. But at length from them our Engliſh Puritans got the word into their mouths, and then it might ſignifie any thing as it hapned to chime to their purpoſes. Sometimes it was the ſame thing with the Liberty of the Subject, when they pleaded it for an Exemption from all Eccleſiaſtical Impoſitions. And ſometimes it was nothing elſe but the Liberty of Contradiction, when they will have it that whatever

ever the Magiſtrate commands in matters of Religion, though before they were free to do it, yet for ever after they are bound to do the contrary. Sometimes it is this, and ſometimes it is that, and ſometimes they know not what, for never did any generation of men ſo ſhuffle and prevaricate with themſelves and the world at the rate that theſe men have done in this pretence; and no wonder, for every cauſe muſt be defended as it can, and if when they once fall into an abſurdity, they will think themſelves obliged to juſtifie it, the more they contend to get off, the more they vex and entangle themſelves. But however this myſtery of Libertiniſm is ſo eaſie a cover, and ſo fruitful a Nurſery for all manner of Treaſons and Seditions, that it highly concerns all Chriſtian Princes not to ſuffer any of their Subjects to ſtretch its Plea any farther than the Apoſtles intended it. For it is very obſervable with what zeal and caution they beſtirred themſelves in all their writings to confine it within its proper limits, that it might not be extended (as the Gnoſticks would have had it) to the prejudice of Government. So that from them we muſt take the only certain account

count of its nature and notion, especially when beside their care to state it, they were the first Founders both of the name and thing. Now it is undeniable, that the controversie that was managed about it between the Jews and the Christians in their days concern'd only the eternal obligation of the Law of *Moses*, which the Jews suppos'd unalterably establish'd to all ages, whilest the Christians thought it not only capable of a Repeal, but to have been actually abolish'd by the Christian Religion. And though the Apostles might and did suffer them for some time to conform to the practices of their sturdy Countrymen for ends of prudence, yet they would never be brought to do it upon the account of the Mosaick Law; and if at any time they condescended to humour them in their old customs, they still protested against the opinion of their necessity. So that their Christian Liberty plainly consisted in nothing else but the rescuing of their minds from the obligatory force of *Moses*'s Law, that was tyed upon them by Divine Authority in the Old Testament, and rescinded by the same in the New. And therefore it can relate only to the freedom of mens minds, and thoughts;

and

and that too only in ſuch caſes, wherein the immediate Authority of God is, or may be pretended. This then is ſo far from being any invention of mine, that it was a trite and vulgar notion in the Apoſtles days. And now I hope you ſee that you are as far to ſeek in my trade of Divinity, as I am in yours of Buffoonry. We are all bunglers out of our own Profeſſion; but you will be ſnearing at every thing, though it be only to betray your ignorance, and ſhew your want of teeth.

The Hypotheſis of the third play is moral Grace. Yes, ſo it is, and I will maintain 'tis as pure terſe Orthodoxy as any grows upon the banks of the *Lake-lemane*. What, would you have an immoral Grace? I ſee you are ſtill for the old Grace of the *ſecret ones*, a Grace that is inviſible to all the world beſide your ſelves; a Grace that can maintain it ſelf upon plunder and ſequeſtration; a Grace of which we formaliſts and moral men, that are ſtrangers to the ſecret, could never perceive any other effects beſide Confidence and Knavery. This is the Grace you would be at, to ſhew your zeal for the Lord and againſt Antichriſt by preying upon Kings and Biſhops

ſhops Lands. It is the Grace of Beggars and Bankrupts, that have the face to look demurely, and amuſe us with talk of their intimate Communion with God, whilſt their fingers are in our Pockets, and their Daggers at our Throats. We have ſeen and felt ſo much of the goodly Pranks of this your Grace already, that you have no great reaſon to blame us, if we are a little concern'd to get Morality joyn'd in commiſſion with it. But this ſame Morality is an arrant Cavalier, and would quite defeat the Act of Indemnity. It is ſo unkind and ſo unmerciful to Gods People, that it would force them to reſtind all their Plunder and Sacriledge; It is ſo ſevere as not to accept of any pretences, or offers, or compoſitions of Repentance upon any milder terms than of entire Reſtitution; and (oh more than Church-mens Cruelty) it would even after an Act of Oblivion require them to undo themſelves, before it would ſo much as allow them to ſue out their Pardon.

But Sir, how come you to be concern'd either in Grace or Morality, but that it is the nature of ſome Vermine to be nibling though they have no Teeth. What if I have confounded them, what have you

you to ſay againſt it? Why! you need ſay nothing at all, becauſe 1. *I my ſelf have diſcourſed it large enough even to ſurfeit.* I eaſily believe you, for what I have diſcourſed is more than enough to make any man that will or can underſtand ſence to diſgorge all your fanatick Nonſence. *But* 2. *If Grace be reſolved into Morality, I think a man may almoſt as well make God too to be only a notional and moral Exiſtence.* Indeed now! do you think ſo in good earneſt? Is this an inference for a man to make that talks of nothing under Divarications, Dilemma's and Mathematical Simile's? That thou ſhouldſt make thy ſelf ſo pleaſant, *i. e.* (in *Bays* his ſence) ſo ridiculous to no purpoſe! This is mere and witleſs Impertinence, the Prentice-Boys ſhake their heads at this idle talk, and there is no profeſſing ſhe ſo ſilly as not to underſtand the dulneſs of this Conſequence; this Logick is below the apprehenſion even of the Blew Apron-ſtrings. But 3. *White Apron'd Amaryllis was of the ſame Opinion.* The honeſter ſhe: 4. *If the Arch-Biſhoprick ſhould ever fall to my Lot, you are reſolved inſtead of* his Grace, *to call me always* his Morality. I thank you Sir, it is a much more civil and cleanly

Pag. 116.

Pag. 117.

Ibid.

Title than his *Belzebubſhip of Kanterbury*, which yet was the ſofteſt word your meek-ſpirited Puritans could in the days of your Predeceſſor *Martin* afford to that pious and humble man Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift*. But you may ſet your mind at reſt, I have no ſuch vehement deſign upon the Arch-Biſhoprick as you imagine; and if I had, I would not care how you loaded me with all the filthy and dirty Language that your Party has vomited out againſt the Church of *England*; though out of their Pamphlets you may furniſh your ſelf with more Flowers and Embelliſhments of your own eloquence than are to be gathered out of all the Libells in the World beſide. *His Grace, and his Morality!* a ſurpriſing Conceit this! it is lovely worth a whole Teſter in Engliſh. And ſeeing you have ſtill a faculty and (they tell me) once had an employment that way, I would give you more than it is worth, or perhaps your ſelf either, to tranſlate or tranſproſe it into Latine: It is pity but ſo quaint a fancy ſhould be preſerved in the Univerſal Tongue. And now (as you inform us) *Clementia* is the Latine word for *his Grace*. And then the Criſis of the Wit would lye thus: If Grace be Morality, then inſtead of calling

ling the Arch-Biſhop *his Clemency*, I would call him *his Morality*. But then no foreign Critick would ever be able to pick out where lay the Picquancy of the Conceit; and yet that the Learned affirm is the moſt certain Symptom of a Quibble, when the jeſt cannot live in another Language. But if this be no more than a Quibble, the next and laſt remarque is ſcarce ſo much as a Semi-quibble. 6. *Methought I never ſaw a more bold and wicked attempt, than that of reducing* Grace, *and making it a meer* Fable, *of which he gives us* the Moral. Sure, your Muſe pinch'd you for this Conceit. *Bays* talk of elevating and ſurpriſing! an impudent Fop! no mortal man could ever have luckt upon this feat fancy beſide thy ſelf. It is the very *Non ultra* of Spirit and Flame. I will warrant it thine own, Virgin-new, and never yet blown upon by Mankind. Take no farther care, it ſhall be inſcribed upon thy Tomb; thou art its undoubted Author, and no man will ever be ſo preſumptuous as to rob thy Ghoſt of the Glory of its invention. *Make Grace a meer Fable, and then give us its Moral!* Hold, you either juggle or conjure; I thought I had faſt hold of the Jeſt, and yet when I open my hand it is quite vaniſht, and Pag. 322.

there is nothing left behind but a groſs and palpable miſtake. For I never in the leaſt attempted to make Grace the Fable (there is not the leaſt ſyllable to that purpoſe in all my Books) you your ſelf know I only made it the moral, ſo that at laſt it plainly appears, that though I have given the moral of Grace, it is only you and your party of modern Orthodox, that have turn'd it into a Fable. And ſo in truth you muſt, if you will make it any thing beſide Morality; for if it be not that, it can be nothing elſe but cheat and enthuſiaſm. And therefore, to be ſerious, do we not write to very great purpoſe, when ſuch whifling tools as you are able to defeat our moſt rational diſcourſes by ſquirting at them with ſuch trifles as theſe. I have aſſerted (and I ſtill believe it to be undoubtedly true) that there is no real difference between Grace and moral Vertue, and I have proved it by a particular Induction of all the moſt material duties of Mankind, and have reduced all the Branches of Chriſtian Religion either to the Vertues or the Inſtruments of Morality; have ſhewn that they are but different names of the ſame thing, and that they are nothing elſe than moral Vertues that are call'd Graces in the

Goſpel,

Goſpel, becauſe they are wrought in us by the aſſiſtance of Gods free Grace and goodneſs. I have challenged them to produce any ancient Writer that gives any other account of them than what I have done. I have appeal'd once and again to their own Underſtandings, that when they have ſet aſide all manner of Vertue, they would tell me what diſtinct duty remains to be call'd Grace, and give me any notion of it different from all morality. If they can, they are more abſtracting and ſubtile Metaphyſicians than *J. O.* that has in a large Volume deſcribed that diſtinct Communion that every Believer is ſenſible of in every Act of Worſhip with each diſtinct Perſon of the Bleſſed Trinity. And now (by the way) becauſe I have ſmiled at the ridiculouſneſs of this Attempt, you (according to the cuſtom of your Ingenuity) charge me confidently, as if I had blaſphemed the Myſtery it ſelf. But this (I have already told you) is no fouler Play than you have ever ſhewen to all Adverſaries; for whoever is ſo hardy or ſo unadviſed as to correct any of your wild and crazy triflings in any Article of Faith, is immediately traduced as if he had rejected the Article it ſelf. It were very eaſie (were

it not tedious too) to give you a large Catalogue of the worthieſt men of our Church, that you have from time to time branded with rake-ſhame names. But I ſuppoſe it will be caution enough to all Prudent men, not to give too eaſie credit to our malicious ſuggeſtions, when Mr. *Hooker* (whom one would have thought no body could ſuſpect either of Hereſie or Infidelity) was immediately upon the Publication of his *Eccleſ. Pol.* taken to task by a Smectymnuan Club of your Orthodox Divines, for broaching ſuch Doctrines as overthrew the foundations of the Chriſtian Religion, and the Church of *England*. But this I muſt paſs by with a Thouſand more of your friendly and Candid bobs, becauſe they are too trifling to need or to deſerve an anſwer. And therefore to keep cloſe to our preſent debate of Grace and Vertue, the argument it ſelf is ſo plain and obvious that it carries along with it its own Evidence and Conviction. In ſo much that *J. O.* himſelf, notwithſtanding all his Zeal and Reluctancy, is at length forced over to my ſide of the Queſtion (as you know where I have charged it upon him) for as much as all the difference he himſelf is able to aſſign between Grace and

Def. Pag. 235.

Truth and Innoc. vindic. Pag. 194.

Vertue,

Vertue relates not to the nature of the things themſelves, but to the Principles from whence they iſſue, *viz.* that the ſame Inſtances and Duties of Moral goodneſs, that are call'd Vertues when they proceed from the ſtrength and emprovement of our own natural abilities, are call'd Graces when they proceed from the Aſſiſtances and Impreſſions of the ſpirit of God: ſo that even in his account Grace is nothing but infuſed Vertue, and infuſed Vertue is Vertue ſtill. I am not apt to be over-poſitive in my own Conceptions of things, yet in this Article I muſt crave and will take leave to be peremptory and confident, becauſe I am ſeriouſly perſwaded that as Religion has been of late trifled with among us, great Numbers of well-meaning People have merely through this miſtake been abuſed both out of the Notion and the Practice of all real goodneſs. And my heart even bleeds to conſider how wofully they have by this means been gull'd with rank Non-ſence and Impoſture. For whilſt their gracious Preachers work their Lungs, and water their Handkerchiefs to decry Moral Righteouſneſs as a thing not only uſeleſs but dangerous if void of Grace, and therefore drive them on with

furious Exhortations above all things to get this ſecret of Grace; if any of them chance to enquire what it is, and wherein it conſiſts, they are forced to amuſe them with abundance of general talk in Scripture Phraſe of an uncertain *i. e.* no ſignification. And preſently they begin to make a grievous noiſe of the *Lord Chriſt*, talk loud of getting an intereſt in the *Lord Chriſt*; tell fine Romances of the ſecret amours between the Believing Soul and the *Lord Chriſt*, and prodigious ſtories of the miraculous feats of Faith in the *Lord Chriſt*; all which, and infinite Loads more of the like crude ſtuff, that they are perpetually pouring forth upon them, is at laſt no better than mere gibberiſh; they are perfect *Barbarians* to the People, & propheſie in an unknown Tongue; they gaze at the Myſtery, and perhaps lay up the Phraſe, but yet underſtand its meaning no more than if they had diſcourſed to them in Chineſe or High-Dutch. Now the unavoidable conſequence of this way of trifling is to betray the People into Enthuſiaſtick and giddy conceits of Religion; it fills their heads full of ſomething, they know not what; and this heats their Fancies, and ſets their Brains awork, and makes them talk-

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ative and impertinent; and then they abound and overflow with Myſtery and Non-ſence, and the whole neighbourhood is annoyed with the Rattle of their Phraſes, and canting Noiſe. But that which is worſt of all is, that if once men fall into this Crazedneſs of mind, as there is little hopes of their recovery, ſo there is no end of their Frenzy. Non-ſence and Enthuſiaſm are unbounded things, and they ſeldom ſtop till they run ſtark mad with zeal and reformation. 'Tis the natural humour of this ſort of people to diſlike, and (if they are able) to ſubvert all eſtabliſh'd order for ſomething elſe that they would have, though they know not what; for what can reſtrain mad men from railing at their Keepers and Governours, and what more grievous to Enthuſiaſts than ſober diſcipline? becauſe that fetters them up from thoſe outrages, that they are eager to act upon themſelves and the publick. But to ſpare theſe political conſiderations, 'tis enough and too much that this miſtake has this ſad effect, that it foreſtalls all the real obligations of Religion, and gives men up to the invincible deluſions of hypocriſie and falſe godlineſs. They are poſſeſs'd with a confident perſwaſion

ſwaſion of their own Grace and Saintſhip, and thereby they are already endear'd unto God and engrafted into Chriſt, and then this unavoidably ſtifles all thoughts of change or amendment, becauſe their converſion is paſt already: ſo eaſie is it through this miſtake for the common people to abuſe themſelves into a ſtrong opinion of their being enſured in the ſtate of Grace, when they are upon terms of utter defyance to all the practices and obligations of Religion. And hence is it uſual with them to ſtile ſome of the groſſeſt enormities of vice by the civil title of ſins of infirmity and ſuch as are the peculiar ſpots of Gods own people. For if they can but once find or fancy in themſelves thoſe characters of Grace that they are told are the marks of Gods ſecret ones, they roundly conclude all their accurſed Luſts and Vices to be rather weakneſſes of their natures, than obliquities of their wills. And then they take the meaſures of good and evil, not from the nature of actions, but from the conditions of perſons, and with them an action is not thought gracious ſo much becauſe it is agreeable to the Law of God, as becauſe it iſſues from a child of God. So that if

a man be once in a ſtate of Grace, all his ſins are preſently turn'd into infirmities; and what is a crying ſin in other men, is in them at worſt but a pitiable weakneſs, and vice in the people of God ceaſes to be vice ſuitably to the doctrine of the Stoicks of old, (for they too had found out an odd kind of Wiſdom, much like this ſecret of Grace, peculiar to their own Sect, that no body could underſtand beſide themſelves, and that was reconcileable to all the folly in the world,) τὸν σοφὸν οἰνωθήναι δεῖ μεθύσθαι, that a ſage or a long beard of their Sect might indeed be ſoundly overcome with wine, but could never be properly drunk. Though to be overcome with wine were downright drunkenneſs in a carnal Epicurean, yet it was only to be full of the Creature in a grave Stoick. To be adopted into their Sect and Conventicle, was enough to enchant a man againſt all the powers of Wine, in ſpite of all the debauchery and intemperance in the world. And thus is it with theſe men, they liſt themſelves into ſome party and faction of Saints, in which after they have been for ſome time train'd and exerciſed, and are prettily well skill'd in the arts of their own way of godli-

neſs

neſs, and thereby ſecured of their intereſt in the love of God, which if once they can get, they can never loſe; upon this preſumption how ſmoothly and contentedly do they ſlide into an habitual commiſſion of thoſe ſins, to which their natural propenſities, or their worldly intereſts moſt incline them. And they protect all their luſts and paſſions under the privilege of Grace, and by wearing the Livery of Gods people.

And what is ſtill more fatal, they do not only excuſe and diſpenſe with their rank and froward paſſions upon the ſcore of their imaginary Grace and Saintſhip, but they adopt them among the choiceſt vertues of their Religion. They will be angry and ſpiteful for the Glory of God, *i.e.* to gratifie their own fancy; rude and malicious againſt all that are enemies to the godly, or (what to them is the ſame) their own party; and they may and ought to hate their brother, if he hate the power of godlineſs, *i.e.* if he loath and deſpiſe their way of hypocriſie. And when they have thus conſecrated their paſſions by ſeparating them to religious Uſes, they are ſo far from cooling or allaying their unreaſonable and brutiſh heats, that they

they think nothing more their duty than to feed and cheriſh them; till they blow up the ſparks of zeal into glorious blazes of Reformation, *i. e.* into publick Combuſtions. And thus when their Religion is nothing but zeal, and their zeal nothing but an heated rage, it is ſo far from controuling their paſſions, that it not only juſtifies, but cauſes their exceſſes, and inſtead of ſweetning their humours, it tinges them with malice and malecontentedneſs. 'Tis made a Sanctuary for ill-nature and ill-manners, where they not only ſhelter, but abett their pride and inſolence. Thoſe vices that meer moral Philoſophy would baniſh humane converſation take ſhelter under the protection of zeal; and thoſe heats that bare reaſon would quench in humane nature are kindled at the Altars of Religion; and they uſually nouriſh this glowing coal in their boſoms till it burn out all their bowels of natural pity and compaſſion. This is enough, but yet it is not all; for as their zeal is implacably fierce and bitter againſt all that oppoſe them, ſo is it ſalvagely rude and cenſorious againſt all that are not as extravagantly mad & raving as themſelves, aſperſing men of a ſilent and compoſed

Piety

piety with the odious names of hypocrites and Luke-warm Formaliſts, and abhorring nothing more than the vertues of Chriſtian meekneſs and diſcretion. But if this be Religion, then farewel all principles of humanity and good nature, farewel that glory of Chriſtianity, an univerſal love and tenderneſs to mankind, let us bid adieu to all the practices of charity, let us renounce all pretences to the meekneſs and innocence of a Chriſtian Spirit. Let our B. Saviour be branded as the greateſt Incendiary in the world, let his Laws be cancell'd as arts and precepts of Sedition, let us baniſh Religion humane converſe as the mother of all rudeneſs and incivility, and let us at laſt go to the ſchool of Atheiſm and Impiety to learn good manners. And yet all this is the unavoidable event of fixing peoples care and zeal upon this imaginary godlineſs, call'd Grace as diſtinguiſh'd from all morality or the obligations of natural Religion, in that whileſt their minds are buſied and ſatisfied with this phantaſtick nothing, it appeaſes their Conſciences in the neglect of their uſeful and material duties, and prevents all endeavours of poſſeſſing them with ſerious and effectual Reſolu-

tions

tions of vertue and true goodneſs. I muſt beg your pardon if I have diſcourſed too warmly and copiouſly upon this Theme; it is you ſee of very weighty Conſequence both to the welfare of mankind here, and their eternal ſalvation hereafter, and upon this miſtake meerly are founded all Abuſes and Impoſtures of Religion whatſoever, *viz.* when men fancy it to be ſome ſecret they know not what; and therefore I here declare that I ſtill adhere to my opinion with the ſerioufneſs of a dying man, and that I ſhall be content to ſtand or fall for ever by my integrity in this belief. But what can we think of you? muſt you not be deeply concern'd in a matter of ſuch ſad and ſerious importance, to whiff it all away with ſo childiſh a conceit as this, that *this is firſt to turn Grace into a meer fable, and then to give the moral of it.* At leaſt muſt we not ſuppoſe you profoundly learned, to be ſo very fond of ſuch a poor crawling fancy, that were it not ridiculous for its ſence, would be unpardonable for its wit, and yet you are ſo highly opinion'd of it, that you have reſerved it for the diſert of your book, and ſerve it in for the laſt jeſt, to give a farewel to the whole enter-

tertainment. One pregnant conceit I had almoſt overpaſs'd in haſt, give me but leave to record it, and I have done,

pag. 76. *viz.* that *I have made the paſſage to Heaven ſo eaſie, that one may fly thither without Grace, as Gonzales to the Moon, only by the help of his Ganzas.* Now I would fain know what likeneſs there is between flying without Grace and with Ganzas; do but make me out the wit of the ſimilitude, and I will caſt you in the ſence of the argument into the bargain.

pag. 119. The Plot or Hypotheſis of the fourth Play is *debauchery* tolerated. That is to ſay, I have in ſome of my Books repreſented his Majeſty this Declaration to iſſue out to all his Loving Subjects, for the toleration of debauchery, in oppoſition to that of the fifteenth of *March* for the indulgence of tender conſciences. Whereas ever ſince our happy Reſtauration, we have, out of our ſpecial zeal and care for the intereſt and ſecurity of the Church of *England*, executed with all ſeverity all penal Laws againſt whatſoever ſort of Non-conformiſts and Recuſants; but yet finding by the ſad experience of 12 years, how ineffectual all forcible courſes are either to reduce or reſtrain diſſenters, We think our

ſelf

ſelf obliged to make uſe of that *unhoopable Power*, that is naturally inherent in us, not granted by Chriſt, but belonging to us and our Predeceſſors under the broad Seal of Nature next and immediately *before* him. By vertue whereof we have and claim an abſolute dominion not only over the conſciences of all our ſubjects, but over all the Laws of God and man, ſo as to repeal or diſpenſe with their obligation, as ſhall from time to time ſeem good to our Royal Will and Pleaſure. And therefore that we may obviate and prevent thoſe miſchiefs that are likely to befal our Kingdom from the ſobriety and demureneſs of the Non-conformiſts, our Will and Pleaſure is to give a free and uncontroulable Licence to all manner of vice and debauchery; and of our Princely Grace and Favour we releaſe to all our Loving Subjects the obligation of the ten Commandments, and all Laws of God, and Statutes of this Realm whatſoever contrary to the contents of this our Declaration: And we require of all Judges, Juſtices and other Officers whatſoever, that the execution of all manner of penalties, annexed to the Laws aforeſaid, whether by Pillories, Whipping-poſts, Gallies, rods or axes, &c.

be immediately ſuſpended, and they are hereby ſuſpended. From whence we hope by the Bleſſing of God to give ſome check and allay to the inſolence of fanatick Spirits, and by debauching our good people out of all tenderneſs of Conſcience to free our Kingdoms from thoſe great and grievous annoyances, wherewith they perpetually diſturb our Government, and at laſt bring back all the advantages of peace and good-fellowſhip, both to our Self and all our loving Subjects, &c. Such a Declaration as this had been a ſtabbing proof againſt me and home to your purpoſe. But when you have exhibited ſo foul a charge without ſo much as referring to any paſſage of mine to make it good, you prove nothing at all but that you have a bold face and a foul mouth. For we all know you are not ſo unskilful at improving the ſmalleſt and moſt inconſiderable advantages, that had you been furniſh'd with any ſhadow of proof, you would have ſmother'd it; and therefore when you have produced none, your Readers eaſily conclude that the only reaſon is, becauſe you know none. Yes! but however I have ſaid as *much as amounts to the ſame reckoning.*

But

But what have you to do with my reckonings, mind your own accounts, and take care to ballance your expences with your incoms. Assure your self, I shall never trust you to be any of my Auditors, for I find you are as ignorant in Computation as in Logick. But yet that which amounts to this summ is this, that it is less hazardous to Government to give toleration to mens debaucheries, than to their religious perswasions; and therefore debauchery is to be tolerated. A fair reckoning! But what this amounts to I have already accounted largely enough to *J. O.* And if you are not satisfied, that concerns not me, I will not trifle because you are peevish; I have both computed and proved it at large in my answer to him, from p. 678. to p. 697. If you or he or any body else have ought to object against it, you know the Press is open, do your worst, it defies all your Forces; but as you value your own credit hereafter cease to trouble me and the world with such silly and childish surmises. But to be short, the summ of all that can or need be determin'd upon this argument is, that offences are punishable by humane Laws, not according to the degrees of their intrin-

ſick evil, but according to the malignity of their influence upon the publick Weal. So that thoſe offences that are of moſt dangerous conſequence to the welfare of the Community, uſually are or ought to be provided againſt with ſeverer penalties, and puniſh'd with more rigorous executions. From hence it is evident, that it concerns Government to keep a more watchful eye, and to hold a ſtricter hand over the freaks of Enthuſiaſm, than the exorbitances of Debauchery. Becauſe though Debauchery always may, and often does its ſhare of miſchief where-ever it prevails, yet it rarely proves ſo dangerous, as either ſerious or affected pretences of Religion. For as much as this is the moſt neceſſary and moſt plauſible diſguiſe of all Rebellion. And therefore if men are not in good earneſt, this is the fitteſt mask under which Malecontents and ambitious minds can hide their crafty and diſloyal deſigns: If they are, then they are always ſo much the more bold and confident in their diſobedience, and purſue their ſeditious courſes with greater courage and aſſurance of mind, than thoſe that are conſcious to themſelves of their hypocriſie and diſloyalty. But the main

miſchief

miſchief of all is, that in all Seditions under colour of Religion there is always an unhappy mixture of both theſe ſorts of people; the crafty knaves drive on the zealous fools, and they never want for *trinkling* Maxims to wheadle them out of all duty of Loyalty and Allegiance; and if they do but beat the Drum, or blow the Trumpet to Reformation, they will do or venture any thing for the Cauſe. So that it is plain enough that Fanaticiſm is very often more dangerous to the peace of Government, than downright debauchery: which as miſchievous as it is can never proceed to any more daring wickedneſs, but under this fair and deceitful Vizor. And this is ſo notorious that it is almoſt a ſhame to appeal to the experience of mankind to make out its proof; when there have been ſo few if any Rebellions in Chriſtendom that have not been commenced, or at leaſt maintain'd by factions of Religion. And as for what you affirm (confidently enough) *that 'tis demonſtrable that for one war upon a Fanatick or religious account, there have been an hundred occaſioned by the Thirſt and Glory of Empire, that has inflamed ſome great Prince to invade his neighbour*; Were it

true, it is lamentably impertinent and like your self. For the only wars that do or can concern our present debate are Rebellions and not Invasions. That being the only argument I all along chose to insist upon, to represent how much it imports the peace and security of Government to prevent all religious contentions. Because they are either the Causes or rather the Covers of all Rebellion: But you add immediately and it is done like a man of *Algebra*: *That more yet have sprung from the Contentiousness and ambition of some of the Clergy.* And yet you know the Cause or at least the Pretence of Religion is the main ground of all their *ambitious Contentions*; so that they very rarely involve their Country in a Civil War, but upon a Religious Account. But yet because it is possible they may be pragmatical upon other scores, I will deduct all out of this additional number but one, and then thus your reckoning casts up it self, That for one war upon a Religious Account there have been an hundred occasioned by the thirst of Glory and Empire, but more, that is at least an hundred and one, by the Ambition and Contentiousness of Clergy-men; and now lay

all

all this together, and the resolution of the Problem is, That for one war upon a religious account, there have been an hundred and one upon a religious account. But (you proceed) *however* Pag *comparisons of vice are dangerous.* It is a venerable Sentence and worthy the wisdom of a Senatour, and I should have supposed it entirely your own, but that it jumps so exactly with as wise a Paradox of the old Stoicks, *that all Crimes are equal*; so that it is as heynous a wickedness to kill a Robin-red-breast, as to murther ones Father or betray ones Country; and therefore they were wont to be very angry if any man would be making comparisons between vice and vice, though he did it but in jest and waggery. But as for all other Sects of learned men, whether Moralists or Divines, they unanimously allow the degrees of wickedness, and are so far from thinking these comparisons always odious, that they often think them necessary. And certainly there can be very little harm or danger in teaching children that it is not altogether so naughty a thing to cheat one another at Push-pin as it is to pilfer half-crowns out of the Shop-box. But the great mischief of all

Pag. 119. would be; that *if a greater severity* (as I teach) *ought sometimes to be exercised over mens Consciences, than over their vices and immoralities, debauch'd persons will be ready hence to conclude, although it be a perverse way of reasoning, that when the severity ought to be less, the Crime is less also.* But can I help the perverseness of mankind, when it is in their power to draw any thing out of any thing in the *perverse way of reasoning?* Name me if you can any one Assertion never so true or so harmless from whence perverse men may not force perverse Conclusions. Thus when I affirm'd the Sovereign Power in Church-matters to be so absolute, that it ought not to be controul'd either by the Conclave or the Classis; I hope you are by this time better inform'd than to think your perverse Conclusion from it even to my denial of a Deity, an allowable objection either against the honesty or the discretion of asserting his Majesties Ecclesiastical Supremacy. However as long as *their way of reasoning is perverse*, it can never reflect any disparagement upon my Premises. Ten thousand perverse exceptions cannot in the least impair the credit of any Truth, but it is enough that if it be a

perverse

perverſe way of Reaſoning, it is your own.

Your fifth Play is Perſecution recommended; and here in the opening of your firſt Scene you bring the Emperour *Julian* upon the Stage as a more cruel and execrable Monſter of Perſecution than Antichriſt or the Dragon himſelf, and you throw your ſlaver upon him with ſo much ſcorn and rudeneſs, that the People take him for as very a rake-ſhame as Biſhop *Bonner* or Pope *Hildebrand*. And yet poor Gentleman, he was a very civil perſon, and a great Virtuoſo, and though he were ſomewhat Heatheniſhly inclined, yet he had nothing of the perſecuting Spirit in him againſt the Chriſtians, as you may ſee at large in *Ammianus Marcel. l.* 22. unleſs you will ſuppoſe (as he did) that there is no ſuch effectual way of perſecuting an eſtabliſht Church as by ſuſpending all Eccleſiaſtical Proceedings againſt Schiſmaticks and Hereticks, and granting an Unlimited and Univerſal Toleration. So that you might have found out ſome other Emperours that might better have become your Character of Cruelty than *Julian*. And how you will reconcile this hard uſage of him with that deep Reſpect you profeſs to Sovereign Princes is paſt my Underſtanding. I am roundly

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roundly taken up for my Irreverence to Queen *Elizabeth*, only becauſe I ſeem not to approve the humour of ſome Writers in her time, that affected to ſtuff their Books with Shreds and Remnants of Poetry; and it muſt by all means *be for her ſake, that I will not endure the Wit and Learning of her times.* And when elſewhere I happen to uſe this expreſſion of *old Elizabeth Pretenſions*, concerning the Puritans fooliſh talk of their Holy Diſcipline, it is no leſs than a ſpiteful piece of Unmannerlineſs to her Majeſty to call her old; though it is manifeſt I ſpoke it not of the Queen, but the Fanatick Arguments; and if I had intended it of her ſelf, yet I hope it is no ill Manners, notwithſtanding ſhe was a Woman, and never married, to call Queen *Elizabeth* old under the Reign of *Charles* the Second. But yet for all your ſeverity upon me, you cannot find in your heart to ſpeak with any kindneſs of any Prince out of hearing. Nay, you cannot ſo much as afford his preſent Majeſty one good word, but only for his Gentlemans Memory, and when you have occaſion to mention your comfortable Act of Oblivion and Indempnity; and how many bad things you have ſuggeſted of him, I will not be

ſo

so unmannerly as to repeat. Tis too plain that it was the least part of your design to fall upon Ecclesiastical Policies; your Plot was under that pretence to take advantage of bolting ugly suggestions against some bodies Person and Government. And it is obvious to all Readers with what violence you force opportunities of hinting spiteful and unmannerly Reflections, and then think to bring your self cleanly off by pretending to discover naughty and secret meanings in my words, though after your rate of Construction a Quarrelsome man might raise an Action of the Case out of your humble Servant Sir. I forbear Instances, because I will not be so far assistant to your insolent and bold Aspersions. But it were easie to specifie some sawcy Remarques that you have darted without any other ground than your own Malecontentedness, for which, if you had your due, the Rods, the Axes, the Whipping-posts, the Gallies, the Pillories, and the Strappados would scarce be all together a sufficient Correction. But so it is that no Person that was more than ordinarily branded for a dissolute and sottish Life in ancient times can be so much as occasionally mention'd (though the occasion of mentioning

tioning him be the vulgar and Proverbial uſe of his name) but as if the reſemblance were as obvious and natural as it is forced and malicious, you take upon you to conclude, that ſome Perſon now in Being muſt be for certain intended, and then plainly enough unriddle the Secret, and make the Application. It is happy for you that I have ſo tender a ſenſe of reſpect and reverence where it is my Duty, that I had rather an impudent Libeller ſhould eſcape uncorrected than ſerve his deſign and promote his Slander by bringing him to publick Puniſhment; I ſay no more, but if you have any gratitude I expect you will ſhortly thank me for the poſſeſſion of your Ears. Certainly you were ſo provident as to take leave of your Comfortable Importance before you ſet Pen to Paper. And though you dare not ſpeak out plainly againſt every body now alive, I am ſure you have bolted it out broadly enough againſt his Majeſties Royal Father, when you repreſent him no better than a Jailour to all his Subjects, and accuſe him for turning his

Pag. 295. three Kingdoms into *one great Priſon*, in ſo much that *many thouſands of his Subjects*

Pag. 296. that had no mind to rot in Jails, *were conſtrain'd to ſeek another Habitation, and every*

very Countrey, though it were among Salvages and Cannibals, appeared more hoſpitable to them than their own under his Government. But yet for all this, I have good reaſon to believe that your Pick at *Julian* was not taken up againſt him either as Emperour or Pagan: But (as you ſuppoſe) he once belong'd to the Clergy, and then becauſe of his Indelible Character he is the eternal Mark of your Malice. And if you can but get ſcent of any thing that ſmells of a Prieſt, away you run with full Cry and open Mouth. And were your Fangs as good as your Throat the whole Order would in a very little time be torn and woried in pieces. *For ſo*, (it is your own Remarque) *of all Beaſts none are ſo fierce and cruel as thoſe that have been taught once by Hunger to prey upon their own kind; as of all men, none are ſo inhumane as the Cannibals.* The ſhrewdneſs of the obſervation makes ſome amends for the dulneſs of the Similitude. For take but an Hunger-ſtarved Whelp of a Countrey Vicar, and enter him in a Committee-Pack for plunder'd Miniſters, and let him but once draw blood of the Church, and taſt the ſweetneſs of Eccleſiaſtical Sequeſtrations, and if ever after he get view of any regular Clergy-man, though

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though an Arch-Bishop, he opens and pursues with all the rage of a Phanatick Blood-Hound. I know your outrage springs from another Principle, because forsooth you were cheated by a Dignitary at Picquet; yet had you been a Committee-Cannibal, you couldnot have been more inhumane to your own kind, than you have shewn your self upon this frivolous Provocation.

Pag. 124. Having arrain'd *Julian*, your next Article is against my self for inveighing against Trade. Ay, that is to the purpose, Purse-persecution strikes deep, drain away our money, and you draw out our Blood and Vital Spirits. What, Young man, are you not content to whip the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, but you must whip them out of the Nation too; and when you have already shipt away *Grace*, will nothing appease your rage, unless you may send *Trade* after it too? Is it not privilege enough to blaspheme the Blessed Trinity, to travesteer the Bible, and to revile the King, but you must be wrecking your Ecclesiastical Malice upon the best and most industrious part of his Subjects too. This is beyond either the Rage of *Julian*, or the Zeal of Arch-Bishop *Laud*, or the Salvageness

vageneſs of a Capon-Cannibal; for that is your Name for a Preſbyterian. Here I ſee I have raiſed a Devil that I can never lay; there is no Calumny, how black ſoever, ſo effectual to expoſe me to popular hatred as this Clamour; and therefore do what I can, it is reſolved I ſhall never get clean from it, and let me beſtir my ſelf never ſo nimbly in my own defence, they will throw it on as faſt as I can wipe it off. I thought I had given *J. O.* his Anſwer, but it ſeems that will not edifie with their Zeal and Choler. It is and ſhall be decreed that I have with all my might perſwaded the diſcouragement of Trade, for this ſtrengthens their Intereſt, and combines both God and *Mammon* in a Confederacy againſt me, and endears the Trading and the Puritan Party of the Nation to each other, and then whoever ventures to reprove one ſhall be voted to rail at both: And now in this caſe it is to no purpoſe for my ſelf or any of my friends to make Apologies, as good preach to the Wind and Tide, as remonſtrate to the prejudice of the wild Multitude: though it is ſo very notorious that were all I have ſaid put in Practice, no Trade could ever be in the leaſt endammaged, but that of the ſecret ones, the

Trade

Trade of Plunder, and Sacriledge, and Conventicles, unleſs poſſibly the Pinmakers Trade by my having declared ſo frankly againſt the uſefulneſs of Puſh-pin Divinity; and I wonder you have not exaſperated that whole Company in particular againſt me for the raſhneſs of that Attempt. But what, (ſay you) *do not I ſay there is no ſuch ungovernable Beaſt as a Wealthy Phanatick?* I beg your pardon Sir, I was miſtaken, I am now convinced by you that a beggarly Phanatick is ſomewhat worſe, though of all wild Creatures I find none ſo fierce and implacable as the Gaming Fanatick, eſpecially when he is rook'd of all, for that is the trick of all broken Gameſters, who having nothing of their own to loſe are ever for ſerambling. However it is plain here from your own Quotation, that it is not the Tradeſman I meddle with, but the Fanatick, nor with him as wealthy, but as Fanatick. Yes, but (ſay you) *many a proper man has march'd up Holborn for diſtinguiſhing betwixt the wealth and the Fanatick*. This may paſs for a Clinch, (and I preſume you intended it for no more) but not for an Argument; and therefore ſeeing you have nothing ſerious to prove your Charge, if you had any

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Conſcience

Conſcience or Modeſty you would have forborn it, and not have endeavour'd to expoſe me to the Violence of the Multitude by ſuch falſe and knaviſh Abuſes. In ſhort then, I am ſo far from bearing any ill will to Tradeſmen, as ſuch, that when I ſee one that keeps his Shop, obliges his Cuſtomers, delights in his own fire-ſide, lives lovingly with his Family, behaves himſelf quietly, and converſes cheerfully with his Neighbours, keeps his Pariſh Church, pays Pariſh duties, bears Pariſh Offices, relieves the Poor, and is kind and civil to his Miniſter, methinks he looks like a Venerable Relique of the meekneſs and modeſty of the Primitive Chriſtians; and is beſide as good and uſeful a member of the Common-wealth as any private Subject of what Rank and Condition ſoever, and deſerves too as much reſpect and encouragement. But —— I was about to give a Character of ſome People of another Kidney, that I ſhall forbear, becauſe I foreſee it will grate too ſeverely upon too many guilty Conſciences. Eſpecially when you have (as a token of your ancient Friendſhip) given me ſecret Advice that I preſume too much upon the good nature of the Fanaticks *in thinking to walk night* Pag. 121.

and day in ſafety, when it is ſo eaſie a thing to deifie me, after the ancient manner, and no body be the wiſer. Hitherto you have put me to no great pains to acknowledge and complement your Civility, but now, dear Sir, you overwhelm me with love and kindneſs. You could not have made a fairer invitation to the Raſcal-multitude to attempt ſome Violence and Outrage upon me as I walk the Streets. This is ſuch a Villainous piece of Malice, as could never have offer'd it ſelf to the thoughts of an Engliſh man, that had not travel'd abroad to learn *Italian* Cowardize and Cruelty. But had I exaſperated any of my Countrey-men ſo much as you would inſinuate to the unruly Rabble, yet I ſhould never fear ſuch attempts as you ſuggeſt but from ſuch as are debauch'd with Forreign Villany. This is offer'd ſo like a Wretch that has forfeited all Senſe of Honour and Conſcience, that you could ſcarce have ſpoke more broadly, had you a mind to be hired for the Executioner. And yet 'tis no fouler Play than what was ſhewn to the late Arch-Biſhop himſelf; for when ſuch another civil Gentleman as you had loaded his Grace with a vaſt heap of Calumnies, then (according to the Ingenuity of the times) call'd

call'd *Cumulative Treason*; he at last falls into an Admiration (as you did) *that the People did not stone him, as they did him that acted the part of* Bellerophon *in* Rome. Thereby animating the Rabble to some Violence, that might save the credit of his Judges, who otherwise must have been forced to murther him in form of Law. And to the same purpose I suppose it is intended that you intimate your knowledge of my Lodging, to invite Pag. 138. the Apprentices and the *Southwark* Rascality to bestow another Visit upon *Lambeth*-House; but I doubt things are yet scarce ripe enough for these Long-Parliament Tumults; though if they were, I doubt not but that there are seditious Bankrupts enough who would be forward enough to thrust themselves into the head of the Riot; but then, my friend, take you heed lest your Zeal and good service be rewarded with Captain *Bestsheads* pay, a bold fellow that was only hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd for heading that Tumult. You can expect but little Mercy if I am not defeated of the Hang-man's Office, that you have been Ibid. pleased so generously to bestow upon me; it is no very Honourable Employment, but yet however he is one of his Majesties

Miniſters of Juſtice, and you know and rue the time when he has done him admirable Service, and as meanly as you think of the place and as much as you deſpiſe it, ſet your heart at reſt, it is an higher Office than ever you are likely to be preferr'd to in the Common-wealth; and in truth it was a place of very comfortable Importance in the Roman Empire (which for your ſake I will venture to mention once more) and yet (as little as I love you) I would not care though I recommended you to the Employment,

Pag. 131. becauſe *this is an age wherein Gentlemen*, (i. e. Gameſters) *cannot well ſupport their Quality, without ſome Acceſſion from the Publique.* So that had you this or any other honeſt way of livelihood, it might ſtop your mouth from bawling perpetually for the ſeiſure of Church Revenues, only in hopes of creeping into ſome ſmall Office at the diviſion of the Prey; for I am apt to believe (though all that know you, know ſo ill of you, that they will take it for a very ſtrein of Candour and Courtſhip) that all your rudeneſs to the Church does not proceed from meer malice to that, and revenge upon the Dignitary. Want will put any man that delights in Gaming out of humour; but of all

all diſcontents there is nothing ſo peeviſh and ſo clamorous as when pride and poverty meet together in the ſame Gameſter. But that which ſeems to ſtrike the greateſt damp upon your mind, and of which you make the oftenеſt complaints is that I talk ſo much of Pillories, Whipping-poſts, Galleys, Rods and Axes, that is to ſay, the *Podeſtrabæ*, *the Tilethræ*, *the Otagræ*, *the Rhinolabides and the Cheiloſtrophia*; theſe are villainous Engines indeed, but take heart *Numps!* here is not a word of the Stocks, and you (ſince the Act of Indemnity is paſt and ſure) need never ſtand in awe of any more honourable Correction; however ſuppoſe the worſt, you have read *Seneca* and *Epictetus*. And what though your worth ſhould ſometime or other prefer you to the Pillory (and that is not impoſſible) yet it is no very painful Engine (and Philoſophers can endure any thing but ſmart) it is only intended to make men look a little ſimply, and put them out of countenance awhile; but for confidence let you alone. Pag. 132.

And now having thus far followed your *dance*, it is time (I hope) *to advance to ſerious Counſels*. You cry out of perſecution! So did *Hugh Peters*, and ſo

did *Venner*, and so might all Malefactors, when brought to Justice, but that most of them are more modest than the most of you. This is but seizing upon words, and forcing them to sound or signifie any thing to your own purpose. But unless all execution of Laws upon offenders deserve this hard name, it is not enough for you to complain you are persecuted, when you are only punish'd. It is the cause that makes the only difference; and you ought first to make out the iniquity of the Laws, and to make good your obligation to disobedience, before you can set up this out-cry. But to this you reply that you suffer for Conscience; for Conscience! what is that? but that you would take advantage of it, and report that I affirm there is no such thing as Conscience, I would say it is for nothing. For Conscience it self is an indeterminate thing, and has no more certain signification than the clinking of a Bell, and that is as every man fancies. And though you are wont to discourse of it, as though it were an infallible Oracle in your breasts, or a Pope in your bellies; yet had you but skill enough to anatomize your selves, you would find nothing there beside Lights and Liver

ver and Stomach and Guts, and perhaps a deceitful heart; for in the heart the Jews ſeated it of old, though the Carteſian Philoſophy has of late pearch'd it up into the *Glandula Pinealis*. But wherever it reſides, it is not any principle of action diſtinct from the man himſelf, being the very ſame individual thing with the mind, ſoul and underſtanding; ſo that there is no other real difference between a man and his Conſcience, than between a man and his mind, or rather between a man and himſelf. And therefore when you make ſuch an heavy ditty about your being perſecuted for your Conſcience ſake, the reſult of it is, that you are perſecuted for your mind ſake, or ſuffer only becauſe you have a mind to ſuffer. For whatever Conſcience is, this is certain, that it is neither the rule nor the reaſon of its own Actions, but it is bound to guide and govern it ſelf, and all its determinations by the meaſures and preſcriptions of its duty, and that only can warrant either the wiſdome or the innocence of its proceedings. And therefore in any caſe to plead only Conſcience for any action, without ſpecifying ſome particular Principle, upon which it grounds it ſelf and its dictate, is in effect

to plead any thing, or rather nothing. For without ſome certain direction diſtinct from it ſelf, it may ſignifie any thing what you pleaſe, or if you pleaſe nothing. And it may as well be call'd Pride, Ignorance, Paſſion, Humour, Peeviſhneſs, Melancholy, Rudeneſs, Frenzy, and Superſtition, as Conſcience; for whenever a mans mind is poſſeſt or abuſed with any of theſe unhappy Paſſions, that to him is his Conſcience. And therefore if ever you intend to make out the juſtice of your Cauſe, or the equity of your Grievances, you muſt give over this hovering and uncertain pretence of Conſcience in general, and betake your ſelves to ſome more diſtinct and particular pleas; and that is to appeal to the adequate rule and meaſure of humane actions, and that is to all divine and humane Laws; and if from either of theſe you can plead any expreſs warrant to excuſe your diſobedience to the Conſtitutions of the Church, in Gods Name plead it; and then, but not till then, it will appear that you indeed ſuffer for the Cauſe of a good Conſcience: But if you have none, then the caſe is plain, that you ſuffer for nothing. And yet it is as plain that you have not any other imaginable ground

or pretext of reaſon to juſtifie your peeviſhneſs to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, beſide the indiſputable pleaſure of your own proud and imperious minds; for you are run off of all your old Cavils, and know not what you would have beyond the ſatisfaction of croſſing the Commands of Royal Authority. For as for all your general clamours againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of Princes, that they invade Gods Royalty, lay waſte the Conſciences of men, uſurp upon their Chriſtian Liberties; firſt they ſignifie no more than the general plea of Conſcience, that whenever Superiours impoſe any Commands upon Subjects that they have no mind or ſtomach to obey, they then entrench upon Gods Supremacy, as the only Lord of Conſcience; and then it ſubverts all Government, and cancels all Humane Laws, in that they neither do nor can paſs any Obligation upon any Subjects, but only as they are bound upon their Conſciences; and laſtly, they will never ſtand to this themſelves, when they are urged with thoſe horrid miſchiefs, that muſt perpetually overtake the Government, if the plea be once admitted in general terms, and without exception. This then being quitted, the

Magiſtrate

Magiſtrate may, and ſometimes muſt reſtrain men in their pretences or perſwaſion of Religion, without ſeating himſelf in Gods Throne, or invading their Subjects Conſciences, or offering violence to their Chriſtian Liberties. And then have they nothing to pretend in their own excuſe, but the unlawfulneſs of the particular Commands themſelves; and this brings them to a ſweet paſs, when they are kept to it cloſely to prove out of the Holy Scriptures the wickedneſs and abomination of our Liturgy and Ceremonies.

And though you are here wont to rowl up and down in rambling and uncertain talk, yet ſtill the laſt reſolution of all your Impertinency (as you have been told often enough) is the great Myſtery of unſcriptural *i. e.* ſymbolical Ceremonies, for excepting theſe all of you allow the lawfulneſs of all other unſcriptural Ceremonies, and here, after you have done your poor utmoſt at fending and thruſting, are you forced to ſhelter both your Self and your Cauſe; and at laſt your Quarel againſt them is, *That*
Pag. 218. *they want nothing of a Sacramental Nature but Divine Inſtitution*; that is to ſay, they want nothing of a Sacramental Na-
Ibid. ture, but a Sacramental Nature. But the grievance

grievance it ſeems, is, that *theſe Humane Inſtitutions ſhould be made of equal force to Divine Inſtitutions, in that they are impoſed with ſo high a penalty.* But what is that to you or me, if our Governours ſhould be over-ſevere in their making of Laws, as long as they thereby enact and enforce nothing that is in it ſelf unlawfull? Beſide, that this is ſuch an Objection as may be equally thrown againſt all Laws whatſoever, in that they are all eſtabliſht upon their proper Penalties, ſo that if it once paſs, there will be no Remedy left to prevent mad people from playing the Apes and Baboons in the worſhip, as you have done the Wolves and Tygers in the Cauſe of God; in that to reſtrain them by penalties (and yet there is no other way of doing it) will be to make Humane Inſtitutions of equal force with the Divine. But here lurks the great miſchief of all your peeviſhneſs (as you have been too often inform'd, ſeeing you will not attend) that your complaints are ſo impoſſible to be redreſt, that though we would ſave you from perſecution, yet it is not in our power to do you ſo much kindneſs, in that Divine Worſhip cannot poſſibly be performed without ſome Arbitrary and

unſcriptural

unſcriptural Ceremonies. And make choice of what others you pleaſe, refine and purifie them as long as you will, they will ſtill retain their ſymbolical Nature. And then as it is neceſſary to the nature of external Worſhip to expreſs it ſelf by ſymbolical Ceremonies, ſo is it as neceſſary to prevent madneſs and confuſion that ſome particular Rites be determin'd and injoyn'd by Authority; otherwiſe after what a ridiculous rate muſt the publique Service of God be every where perform'd, when every humorous and conceited Fellow would be at Liberty to affect his own ſingular poſture and extravagance. And for this reaſon all Churches in the world have ever taken upon them to determine their own rules of Order and Decency, and exacted Conformity to them of all the members of their own Communion. And ſo do all the particular Clans and Conventions of the Fanatiques among themſelves; and without this uniformity all their Aſſemblies would be no better than a wild and confuſed rabble of people: For do but ſuppoſe a mixt Aſſembly partly of a Congregation of Preſbyterians, and partly of a meeting of Quakers, what an uncouth and fantaſtick medley would this appear to the

the Spectators, when upon the very ſame Principle that the Preſbyterian refuſes to kneel at the Communion, the Quaker refuſes to be uncover'd, and ſo ſtill they would quarrel and combate each other as much as they do the Church. This is ſo plain and obvious to every mans experience, and they have been ſo often upbraided with it, that no man, whoſe confidence had not devoured his underſtanding, could have taunted us ſo perpetually as you do with the indifferency of our Ceremonies in their own Natures; when it is ſo plain, that the determination of ſome indifferent things is abſolutely neceſſary to the exteriour performance of Gods worſhip, and when it is ſo certain that this exception, if once admitted, would fall as fouly upon all your ſeveral Cuſtomes, as upon our Conſtitutions: So that the Quarrel relates not ſo much to the particular matters in controverſie between us, for no man is, or ever was ſo fond as to pretend an antecedent neceſſity for their particular injunction; it is enough for us, and too much for you that it is abſolutely neceſſary to enjoyn either theſe, or ſome other ſymbols as unſcriptural and arbitrary as theſe: But our main concern relates to that danger-

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ous and exorbitant Principle upon which your Diſſent and Non-conformity is founded. A principle ſo fond and ſo miſchievous, that it will not ſuffer the ſettlement of any Church or Common-wealth in the world. So little reaſon have you to complain of the ſeverity of the Laws, whilſt the Laws are only level'd againſt ſuch Principles as muſt eternally oblige you to be ſeditious and unpeaceable under all Governments and in all Churches; inſomuch that ſhould his Majeſty condeſcend to grant you a Commiſſion to order Divine Service to your own humours, if you would but be conſtant to the peeviſhneſs of your own Principles, that would bring you under as indiſpenſable an Obligation of Non-conformity to your own Conſtitutions, as you now pretend to lie under to ours. So that you ſee the laſt Iſſue of this Plea is plainly nor more nor leſs than this, that you are perſecuted for your Conſcience ſake, *i.e.* only becauſe you are reſolved to keep your ſelves under a neceſſity of being perſecuted. And this I hope at preſent may ſuffice to ſtop your Cry of Perſecution; but if this will not do, then there is no remedy but I muſt muzle you and your whole party, and that I hope to do

to

to the purpoſe when I come to your State-Policy. In the mean while it concerns Authority to conſider whether as ſimply as your pretences look at top any thing but the Good Old Cauſe, or (as you mince it) the Cauſe too good be lurking at the bottom, whilſt they obſerve ſuch bleſſed Saints as you that are known to boggle at nothing your ſelves, and withall to be the fierceſt and moſt vehement enemies to the preſent form of Government, to be the only men that come forth to *Witneſs* againſt Prelacy and Antichriſt, and preach ſuch ſilly ſcruples to the Rabble as you know muſt be unremoveable grounds of diſcontent between the King and his People. For as much as your general pretence, *viz.* that if His Majeſty ſhall ever challenge any Authority over Conſcience he invades the Divine Prerogative (which yet you know and ſometimes acknowledge to be falſe) deſtroys all Government in general, in that Princes have no other ſecure and faſt hold upon their Subjects, but only by vertue of their Conſciences; and then as for all your particular exceptions, they as apparently deſtroy all Church-Government in particular, and are ſo remedileſs that it is not in the Power of

Princes

Princes to avoid them, as long as they will leave any outward appearance of Religion or Divine Worſhip in the World. For if they will admit of any more Rites than the two Sacraments, it muſt be performed by ſomething as liable to your own Scruples as any thing injoyned or practiſed in the Church of *England*, i. e. by ſome Symbolical Ceremonies that are not enjoyn'd in the word of God, ſeeing it is plain that all outward Devotion can be expreſſ'd by nothing elſe, and ſeeing it is as plain that there are no more preſcribed in the Goſpel than barely the two Sacraments; from both which Premiſes nothing can be more plain than that Nonconformity to all cuſtomary and eſtabliſh'd ways of worſhip whatſoever muſt upon your Principles be for ever unavoidable.

Your Sixth and laſt Play is puſhpin-Divinity; from this one would conclude I had written at leaſt a Treatiſe upon this Argument; and yet it is ſo far from being any head of my diſcourſe, that I only uſed it once as the moſt proper Term to expreſs thoſe childiſh Controverſies that ſome men manage upon almoſt all the Articles of Religion, and that ſignifie no more to the Edification of the Church than

than Boys Play does to the Government of the State. But because you have so utterly mistaken the meaning of the Phrase, and because I perceive you have not Divinity enough to set you up at Push-pin, I will furnish you with a small stock of Instances. 1. Whether Conversion be perform'd in an Instant, or whether it be divided into several Acts and Scenes. As 1. the work of Vocation is the Prologue, 2. this vocation infuseth Faith, (only say some, but Faith and Repentance say others) and then 3. this Faith must be acted (so that it seems Believers may have Faith before they act it, *i.e.* they may believe before they believe) then 4. by this Act we apprehend Christs Person, and by this Apprehension we are united to him, 5. from this Union proceed the Benefits, 1. of Justification, 2. of Sanctification. 6. This Sanctification infuseth all other gracious habits, and hath two degrees, 1. Regeneration, 2. *Renascentia* as they call it, or the New-birth. Upon this dispute a great many weighty Arguments are pusht *pro* and *con*, and a great number of grave Divines engaged on both sides, though (in my opinion) they had been as wisely employed in playing with

the Boys at Push-pin, as in finding ten real differences in one and the same thing. 2. Whether the Word and Sacraments have only a moral Operation in the Conversion of a Sinner, as a man draws an Horse to him by the sight of Provender, or an Hog after him by the Rattling of Beans; or whether they are only the Instrumental Cause to conveigh the Physical Operation of the Spirit, as a Conduit-pipe does water. But this Heresie the more Orthodox will by no means endure, because it is evident to all that understand Metaphysicks that none of *Suarez* his conditions of an Instrumental efficient Cause are to be found in them, and then the case is clear, and the Controversie out of danger. And yet there is a very moderate man, and one that is much given to reconciling, who ventures to declare that if any man had rather say that the word is *Causa efficiens minus principalis Procatarctica*, that for his part he will not contend. What a Condescension is here! Were all the Divines in *Christendom* of this yielding temper, how quickly should we see and rejoyce in that Catholick Unity, that you in your deep Wisdome and Policy have set down for as crazy and impracticable an Undertaking as *to dig through*

through the ſeparating Iſthmos of Peloponeſus; or to make a Communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. 3. Whether common and ſaving Grace differ only gradually or ſpecifically, and if ſpecifically, then whether it be only by a Moral or a Phyſical ſpecification; and when they diſcourſe upon ſuch heads and points, they are wont to ſet as ſtrong a Guard upon them of Chapter and Verſe out of St. *Paul's* Epiſtles, and to as little purpoſe as the Aſſembly-men did upon their darling and fundamental Doctrine of abſolute and irreſpective Reprobation, though they were not ſatisfied with that, but for greater ſecurity were ſolicitous to place it next to the exiſtence of God, and the Being of Providence. Bleſſed Apoſtle! ſhouldſt thou but make a viſit to the Chriſtian World, how wouldeſt thou ſtand aghaſt to ſee ſuch a vaſt Body of Modern Orthodox Faith framed out of thy Writings diſtinct from and for the moſt part oppoſite to the old Chriſtian Belief! Shouldſt thou peruſe thoſe ſtrange Gloſſes and Commentaries that have of late been made upon thy Epiſtles, how would it recover to thy Memory all that Gibberiſh in which thou wert ſo idly buſie whilſt thou ſatteſt at the feet of *Rabbi* Pag. 38.

Gamaliel! How would it grieve thee to ſee ſo many Churches of thy own Plantation over-run with the Barbariſm either of Turks, or Heathens, or School-men! Little didſt thou dream that ever thy Epiſtles ſhould be brought upon the Stage to decide the difference between moral and phyſical Specification. But yet to confeſs the Truth, theſe were not the impertinent Fopperies I intended in that Expreſſion; the only thing I then glanced at was the undertaking in the Grotian Religion to prove that the diſputes between the Calviniſts and Arminians *are more about words than matter*, which is purſued warmly and eagerly enough, from Sect. 5. to Sect. 20. of the Preface; all which the Reverend Biſhop gravely and prudently baulkt as a matter altogether impertinent to his Argument, and that would bear Eternal wrangle in the way of playing Scholaſtick heads and points. And that you may be forced to acknowledge his Wiſdome, I will give you a ſummary Account of his Adverſaries performance. *Imprimis* to reconcile Gods abſolute decree of Election of the leſſer part of Mankind Antecedently to any Conſideration of their Faith and Obedience, and his abſolute Decree of

Reprobation

Reprobation to all the reſt Antecedently to the deſerts of their Impenitence and Infidelity, to the Juſtice and Goodneſs of God. *Item* to reconcile Chriſts ſuffering death for the Elect only, that are the leaſt part of Mankind, without having any intent to make ſatisfaction for the ſins of the whole World, with the deſign of Univerſal Redemption. *Item* to reconcile the loſs of free will in all the poſterity of *Adam*, ſo as that they lye under an unavoidable neceſſity to do or not to do, whatſoever they do or do not, whether it be good or evil, with the firſt Principles of Morality or the Right of Rewards and Puniſhments. *Item* to reconcile Gods Method of ſaving his Elect from the corrupt Maſs, by begetting Faith in them with a Power equal to that, wherewith he created the World, and raiſed up the dead, (inſomuch that ſuch unto whom he gives that Grace, cannot reject it, and the reſt being Reprobate cannot accept it, though it be offer'd to both by the ſame preaching and Miniſtry) with the Power of Election and Free Will. *Item* to reconcile the Impoſſibility of falling away finally and totally, notwithſtanding the moſt enormous Crimes, with the Power of Apoſtaſie; or

the neceſſity of perſeverance with the liberty of falling away, becauſe it is only a *neceſſitas conſequentiæ*, though to you and me that are not ſo deep read in *Modern Orthodoxy* every neceſſity of what kind ſoever is a neceſſity, and then call it what you pleaſe, it plainly deſtroys all Power over our own actions. This may ſerve for a compendious Syntagm of puſh-pin Divinity.

I might be very large and particular upon this Subject, but for the preſent I ſhall deſire thoſe that would be farther ſatisfied in the Myſtery, to repair to *Pin-makers-hall* every Tueſday about ten of the clock in the forenoon, and there in ſix weeks time 'tis ten to one but they ſhall find two or three of them at it. And thus having repreſented as briefly as the Subject would bear the plot and contrivance of your ſix Plays, I ſhall make no other Epilogue than to deſire the Company to give me their impartial judgement firſt of your own Modeſty, Wit, Learning, and Honeſty; and ſecondly of the underſtanding and ingenuity of the whole Faction, that are ſo ſtrangely elevated with ſuch a crude and indigeſted heap of non-ſenſe and nothing. Theſe Arguments I have purſued ſomewhat farther

ther than was neceſſary to blow up your idle Cavils, becauſe I was willing to do ſomething to the edification of thoſe Readers that have ſome underſtanding of their own, as well as to the Conviction of thoſe that have none. And that the company may be ſenſible how much they are beholden to me for their entertainment, I will give them a ſhort Bill of Fare of your Proviſions. Firſt, the Grand Theſis is ſerved in, and at this you ſpread your arms, and cock your train, and chatter (as one would think) in token of courage and victory; but alas! under all this Pageantry there is nothing to be found beſide tail and feather, and after all this cackling nothing to be diſcover'd beſide noiſe and amazement, not a word diſcharged at the Grand Theſis it ſelf; only you are ſcared out of your wits to ſee one ſo preſumptuous as to aſſert what all the world have alwayes believed and practiſed, and ſo you immediately fall to tranſcribing a lump of quotation, being ſentences accidentally cull'd backwards and forwards out of ſeveral diſcourſes; and theſe you will have to be ſometimes *ſuch Corollaries, and ſometimes ſuch Superſtructures as are neceſſary to* juſtifie the Grand Theſis: Though Corol-

laries juſtifie Theſes juſt as ſuperſtructures ſupport foundations. But however from hence it is evident with what preſumption I treat His Majeſty in my Books, though in the concluſion you tell us very judiciouſly, that they are not to be anſwer'd for certain invincible Reaſons.

1. Becauſe they are ſo full of contradictions, and therefore you cannot anſwer them.

2. Becauſe no man can do it without bringing himſelf within the Statute of treaſonable words, and at leaſt a *Premunire*, and therefore you dare not.

3. Becauſe whoever goes about it muſt of neceſſity either be, or be thought to be a Fanatique, and therefore you will not. And for divers other Reaſons, ſome whereof you dare not diſcover, and ſome you diſcreetly reſerve to your ſelf; and ſo leave them to be found out by Gods Providence, or our own Sagacity, and if both wayes fail, to wait with patience till the day of judgement: Only you inform His Majeſty, (1.) That I have given him too much Power; (2.) Too much advice; and (3.) Taken them both away again. And now while two or three other dull people can in the tumult of

other

other buſineſs conſume eight or ten months in one ſingle Book of ſeven or eight hundred pages, for one man even without any Partners after forty months travel, to be able to Tranſproſe three leaves, and find out the Grand Theſis, and the Corollaries that *juſtifie it*, and from thence to irradiate his Brethren with this beam of diſcovery, that ſuch Divinity with ſuch Policy cannot be good, no really by no means: This (I ſay) if duly weighed, is ſuch an enterprize, as cannot but ſtrike your ſelf, and all the world with admiration. And thus having diſpatcht the Grand Theſis, you advance with huffing train againſt all its *ſubordinate Hypotheſes*. And here firſt *you cannot proceed well without a Preface*, and ſo as if you had treated me hitherto with as much reverence as the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, you humbly crave leave to treat me according to *Decorum*, *i. e.* like a Buffoon; the very ſame Requeſt word for word that *Martyn-Mar-Prelate* has often put up to his Readers to be allowed the ſame freedom with his *Nuncka John* the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; though Sir, you might have uſed this familiarity with me without all this ado, for I perceive we are ſo intimately acquainted, that we have

have no doubt sometime heretofore either rob'd Orchards or lampoon'd the Court together. And then from this Apology in the strength of another Apology to Kings and Princes, *lest by reason of your private condition and breeding you should trip in a word, and fail in the mannerlineß of an expreſſion*, you proceed from Apology to Apology, (for one half of your Book is written to no other end than to beg pardon for the other) till you compare his Majesty sawcily and unmannerly, and that without Apology, to a *mad horse kicking and flinging most terribly*. And all this being premiſed out of tender regard to the rules of *Decorum*, you enter upon the *unlimited Magiſtrate*, where if you intended any thing againſt me, you ought first to have made it evident that I had really inveſted him with an *unhoopable Juriſdiction*, and after that you would have had scope and advantage enough to have made me an Example to all Eccleſiaſtical Politicians to the worlds end. But you are a Civil Gentleman, and will say nothing more severe than only to admoniſh me,

1. That Biſhop *Bramhall* would have cenſured this of Eraſtianiſm, though *Eraſtus* never dreamt of any Opinion half ſo dangerous

dangerous as unhoopable Juriſdiction.

2. That the Biſhops and their Chaplains would never have licenſed it without clauſes or proviſos.

3. That the King does not love to hear of conceal'd Lands. Only if he may exerciſe the Prieſt-hood himſelf, he may with all the Reaſon in the world aſſume their Revenue too, which is as much as to ſay, if he may diſcharge the Function of the Secular Magiſtrate, he may (and it is all the reaſon in the world) aſſume all Secular Revenues too, *which would be a better Subſidy than twenty Church Revenues: But truly otherwiſe* (*i. e.* were it not that he is not guilty of Sacriledge) *you do not ſee but that the King does lead a more unblameable converſation, &c.* And ſo you forſake the fantome of unhoopable Juriſdiction to proceed to *Publique Conſcience.* But here too you are out of your element, and begin firſt with a wretched blunder about Chriſtian Liberty, and then pick up here and there ſome paſſages out of my diſcourſe of doubtful and unſatisfied Conſciences, and impoſe them upon the Reader, as if they were intended of Conſcience in general, and as if I had *perſwaded men that they may and ought to act againſt their Conſciences*

where

where the Commands of the Magiſtrate intervene, becauſe forſooth I have proved that when the Command of the Magiſtrate intervenes in doubtful and uncertain Caſes, by obeying they do not nor cannot act againſt their Conſciences, if they really are what they pretend to be; and if they are not, that then they are Knaves and Hypocrites. *But the Opinion is bruitiſh, and the conſequences deviliſh*; though whether it be ſo, it is no matter of your Judicature, and therefore muſt be referred either to a Jury of Divines, or the day of Judgement. And ſo we have you at Moral Grace, where you warble forth a pleaſant ditty of Fortune, Prudence and Honeſty in three ſeveral Languages, and the Song ended, we might have had a *dance upon the high ropes, but that lightly one time or other by that means men break their necks*; and for this reaſon you make haſt to bid adieu to moral Grace, of which not a word more, only *he that is not ſatisfied, may ſatisfie himſelf if he can.* And ſo immediately you get to *debauchery tolerated*, and this you underſtand a little better than moral Grace, but yet all that you have to ſay upon this ſubject, is, to acknowledge that I never aſſerted any ſuch thing, only

debauch'd

debauch'd perſons will (as you do) by a perverſe way of reaſoning conclude ſo and ſo, *i. e.* if I had affirmed (as you do) that it had been ſafer to give toleration to mens Blaſphemies and Hereſies than to their debaucheries, then it would have been Hereſie tolerated. And ſo after a driveling and School-boys Declamation againſt the debauchery of the *Sibarites*, you are at *Perſecution recommended*. And here it is Gods Mercy that *Julian* was Emperour and not I, and though you dare jeſt upon him and the Gallies as the more remote, yet you ſculk by the Axes, Pillories, and Whipping-poſts, as the more practicable and dangerous inſtruments of Perſecution; and being your ſelf a moſt gracious and conſcientious Coward admire at ſome bodies courage that dares walk the ſtreets ſo confidently, when it were ſo eaſie to deify the Divine after the ancient manner, and no body be the wiſer, and ſo cunningly inſinuate as if you your ſelf would be glad to accept the Office, provided you may gain ſome acceſſion from the publique ſtock of the Party, becauſe in this age Gentlemen cannot otherwiſe well ſupport their Quality; but if ever you undertake it, I ſhall never fear any other

weapon

weapon than a Spaniſh Fig, or ſome more ſecret *Italian* diſpatch; for though you talk ſo much of fighting and duels, you are ſo far from being ſo hardy as to *ſee any man dye upon the ſpot*, that it is manifeſt you never had the Courage to attend the event of a war between two Boys in the ſtreets, in that among all the wiſe and politique remarques you have made upon the tranſactions of *Obearing-Croſs* and *Lincolns-Inn-fields* we have not one Obſervation upon that ſubject. And ſo at length we come to *Puſh-pin Divinity*, but becauſe you underſtand nothing of the Game, I have directed you to the School where it is weekly practiſed: Onely to hide your ignorance you tell us what you have to ſay upon it, *and perhaps you may have a ſtomach*, but perhaps you may not, for when you
Pag. 247. come to it, you only repeat it all over again, and tell us, that though you indeed have not, yet the King himſelf has conſidered all theſe things. Strange that a man of ſuch private condition and breeding ſhould be ſo intimately acquainted with the ſtudies and retirements of Kings. Theſe are the Acts and Scenes of all your ſix Plays, but yet when all is over, the Plot of the Grand Theſis

and

and Eccleſiaſtical Policy ſtands ſtock ſtill. *And now among friends was ever any thing ſo monſtrous? you ſee what ſome men may come to with high feeding and no Divinity.* Did ever any man run ſuch taplaſh as this at firſt Broaching? Well! for your ſake may I never live to out-live my ſelf and my little Underſtanding ſo much as to be proud of ſuch witleſs and inſipid ſtuff as this upon the uſefulleſt and moſt pregnant Arguments in the World.

This a Merciful man (as I am) would have thought Correction enough for one mans back; but you are ſo pregnant and awkerd a Dunce, ſo emproved in Ignorance, ſo dexterous in the knack of being impertinent, and ſo addicted to all kinds of *Leaſing*, that though you had Truth on your ſide, yet it would never pleaſe you, till you had dreſſ'd it up and ſet it off with all the Colours of Falſehood, and whatever the cauſe is in which you engage, you will be ſure to make your ſelf ridiculous; and therefore but for a proof of this peculiar giftedneſs of yours, I ſhall (to avoid Ink-ſhed) content my ſelf, and (I fear) more than ſatisfie my Reader with three or four of the goodlieſt Inſtances of your Wit, and ſo leave you to chew the Cud upon your own ſhame and folly.

Thus

Thus when *J. O.* had (and that without bluſhing too) pleaded in Juſtification of his own Non-conformity, that he dares not conform to Socinianiſm, Arminianiſm, and Popery, as if he could be admitted into the Communion of the Church of *England* upon no other Terms than of Popiſh and Socinian Subſcriptions, and when I had ſcourged ſuch an inſolent Libel with ſome ſmartneſs of Correction, though not ſo much as it deſerved; you (in your baſhfulneſs) call it railing. So that it ſeems if any man impudently belye the Church of *England*, and I take him in it, and expoſe him for it, it is but telling me I rail, and I am anſwer'd. This is too like the ſtubbornneſs of your ſhrew; that when ſhe was duck'd over head and ears, ſtill ſtretch'd up the Symbols or (as your Pin-Divines will have it) the Sacraments of Lowſineſs and Cuckoldry. Nothing but ſuch incorrigible Scolds as you and ſhe could have perſiſted ſo obſtinately in ſo rude a Calumny as this of *J. O.*'s. But when among other paſſages, I tell you that to the Iſme of Socinianiſm, he might as juſtly have added all the *Iſmes* in the Old Teſtament; out of this you rear two thwacking Objections, the one againſt my ſelf of prophaneneſs,

Pag. 160.

phaneneſs, the other againſt the Church of *England* of Schiſm. And this is yelp'd like a true Whelp of Old *Martyns*; for no man, be he Biſhop or Arch-Biſhop, could ever open his mouth againſt the holy Diſcipline, but this dull Buffoon preſently run him up into Blaſphemy and Treaſon. Blaſphemy; becauſe he reviled the Lord Chriſts own Inſtitution, and ſet up a form of Church-Government of mans deviſing, in defyance to his unalterable Platform. Treaſon; becauſe he perſwaded her Majeſty to keep out Chriſts true Officers and plant Antichriſtian Biſhops in their ſteads, and by that means to draw the Judgments of God down upon her ſelf and her Kingdoms.

This was the Summe not only of all old *Martyns* Buffoonry, but of all the ſerious part of the old-*Eliſabeth* Puritaniſm. But as *Martyn* was juſt ſuch another Wit as you, ſo are you juſt ſuch another fool as *Martyn*, that as deſpicable as you make your ſelf when you would play the Monkey, are ten times a more ridiculous ſight when you would look ſerious. For here forſooth you would fain make up your Mouth and turn up the white, and put on as rebuking a Countenance as you fancy *J. O.* did when he ſpoke of the day

Pag. 184. of Judgment, and take me up with ruful face for that *peculiar delight and felicity I have (which no man envies me) in Scripture Drollery.* My friend, this is too ſevere reckoning; what, can we not make mention of any Name recorded in Holy Writ, but we muſt abuſe the ſacred book it ſelf? ſhall we not dare ſo much as to take the names of the Hivites, Perizzites and Hittites into our Lips becauſe we find the ſtory of their wickedneſs recorded in the Holy Scriptures? ſhall we not call a Traitour *Judas*, or a Rebel *Achitophel* for fear of prophaning the Old and New Teſtament? This is a ſhrewd and a ſad ſymptom of wretched Poverty of Cavil when you are every where forced to make ſo very much of ſo very little. I only wonder how the Bramble eſcaped this ſeverity, eſpecially when one would think that of all the Books of the Bible, you ſhould have been acquainted with the Book of *Judges*, becauſe though it be no Gazet, yet it conteins the Tranſactions of a certain time when there was no King in *Iſrael*, and yet even here you betray the Groſſneſs of your Ignorance, and declare in the Simplicity of your Heart, that *you cannot imagine what the Myſtery of* Shiboleth *is no more than of Categoricalneſs*

neſs and Entanglement. And yet the ſtory of *Shiboleth* is recorded in the ſame Book of *Judges* with that of the Bramble; ſo that it is not improbable but you might be equally ignorant of both; and that you might look for this ſtory in *Gerhard*'s Herbal, or *Æſop*'s Fables. But as for the other two words, you know as well as I that it is only for my dear *J. O*'s ſake that I am ſo fond of them, as well as divers others, that you might as well have inſulted over; *viz.* Self-wrought-out-mortification, Eriſtical-neſs, Songs upon *Sigionoth*, the high places of *Armageddon*, Providential revolutions and ſome other affected Phraſes that are the peculiar Language or *Shiboleth* of your ſecret ones. But perhaps you had a mind to reſerve this Parable (for all its being found in the Bible) for your own Drollery; and you are wonderfully pleaſant both upon that and me, becauſe after I had (in alluſion to that) transformed *Calvin* into a Bramble (not a Biſhop *Bramble* as you notably clinch it for the nearneſs of the ſound to Biſhop *Bramhall*) I ſhould aſcribe indefatigableneſs to him, a Liberty that has ever been allowed of by all Criticks, and muſt be practiſed by all the Writers of Apo- Pag. 90.

logues, and without it what pleaſant work would ſuch a Sarcaſtical Wit as you make with *Æſops Fables* and *Reignold* the *Fox*. But if I am guilty of a ſoleciſm (and I do not much care if I grant it) I am not alone, you your ſelf ſtick as faſt in the ſame abſurdity, for when you have
Pag. 133. turn'd the Clergy of *England* into an Ivy-buſh, you in the ſame breath aſcribe cunning and contrivance to it; now if you will but undertake to teach a ſhrub how to plot and contrive for its own ſelf-intereſt, I will undertake to teach it how to take pains to compaſs its ends, ſo that your Politick Ivy will be a fit match for my Indefatigable Bramble, and I hope in time will overcome it too, *i. e.* that the diſcretion of the Church of *England* may at laſt be too hard for the Zeal of the *Geneva* Faction.

But though it be prophane enough to droll upon the word of God, yet wilfully to pervert or (in your own unaffected language) *trinkle* it, is ſomewhat worſe, and that is the next Article of my charge; that when I quote St. *Paul* to prove that the fruits of the ſpirit as he enumerates them, *Gal.* 5. 22. are only Moral Vertues,
pag. 193. I tranſlate (ſay you) joy to chearfulneſs, peace to peaceableneſs, and faith to faithfulneſs,

fulneſs, as if either the Apoſtles Original were written in Engliſh, or I had tranſlated it out of Engliſh into Engliſh; no, that is your own way of tranſlation, to expound the Greek Text by the Engliſh Verſion as you do the Chapter by the Contents. It was not then joy, and peace, and faith that I tranſlated into chearfulneſs, peaceableneſs and faithfulneſs, but χαρὰ, εἰρήνη and πίστις. *But what ignorance, or rather what forgery is this of Scripture and Religion? Who is there of the Syſtematical, German, Genevah, Orthodox Divines, but could have taught you better? Who is there of the ſober intelligent Epiſcopal Divines of the Church of* England, *but would abhorr this interpretation?* So ſay you, but then ſay I, what honeſt and upright dealing is this with Scripture and Religion? Who is there of the Syſtematical, German, Genevah, Orthodox Divines, that could have taught me better? Who is there of the ſober intelligent Epiſcopal Divines, that would not approve of this interpretation? And ſo Mr *Impertinence* you and I are even, you ſee how little Anſwer will ſerve to ſtop your mouth, though you open never ſo wide. But this confidence is worth all our Moral Vertues, and is able to make

ſuch ſtuff as this paſs among the Party for Wit and Demonſtration. And with what Triumph here do you bear me down, and reſcue this Text from my violent interpretation, and carry it off as bravely recover'd out of the Enemies poſſeſſion, and yet it is but dropping one ſimple *No-forſooth* in your way, and your carreere is ſtopt, and there may you ſtand gaping till the day of Judgement. For as for this Text, when all your Orthodox Divines have ſifted and bolted it to the Bran, they will with all their ſearch and canvaſing never get any thing out of it, or diſcover any thing in it beſide Moral Vertues. And if you have credit enough to borrow a Bible in the Neighbour-hood, you will quickly find (if you can find the Epiſtle) that St. *Paul* is there deſcribing the oppoſite Effects between the Fleſh and the Spirit; and therefore as all the fruits of the fleſh there reckoned up are immoral Vices, ſo muſt all the fruits of the Spirit there oppoſed to them be moral Vertues; but particularly chearfulneſs muſt anſwer to envy or diſcontentedneſs, peaceableneſs to ſtrife or contention, and faithfulneſs to the Gnoſtick treachery or perfidiouſneſs. But in the Name of *Mercury*, tell me to what

end

end you quarrel my preferring the word chearfulneſs before that of Joy, when (as I have told you) they are but ſynonymous expreſſions of the ſame thing, and may be, and often are uſed promiſcuouſly, and differ no more than Reaſon and Reaſoning. And what if inſtead of this I had made choice of the word Alacrity, *What ignorance or what forgery had that been of Scripture or Religion?* But yet after all your ſwaggering all your own Orthodox Divines will vote chearfulneſs as a much more proper expreſſion in this place than joy. Becauſe St. *Paul* here ſpeaks of the temper or the habit of the mind, whereas Joy in its proper acceptation denotes only the particular acts of rejoycing. Oh! but ſay You and *J. O.* to grievous purpoſe, that *this Joy is not chearfulneſs, but that ſpiritual joy which is unſpeakable*, yes, but then ſay I, this ſpiritual joy that is unſpeakable might more properly have been tranſlated that ſpiritual chearfulneſs that is unſpeakable, in that it is that habitual tranquillity of mind that ariſes from the teſtimony of a good Conſcience, and a right to Eternal Life, and therefore is beſt expreſt by chearfulneſs that denotes the habit, and not Joy that denotes the act. And ſo

Peace (cry you both) is not peaceableneſs but that peace which is wrought in the hearts of believers by the holy Ghoſt: though this is plainly coincident with your former notion of joy, in that the holy Ghoſt works this ſatisfaction of mind only by joyning its ſuffrage to the vote of our own Conſciences, ſo that according to your account joy and peace would be but one thing in two words. But beſide this it is manifeſt that the Apoſtles deſign here is to enumerate the Vertues, or the Duties, or the Graces of the Spirit (call them what you will) whereas this Peace you talk of is a priviledge or a felicity of good men, but no proper effect of the ſpirit of Sanctification, and therefore cannot without plain violence to the Text be underſtood of any thing elſe than peaceable-mindedneſs, eſpecially when it is ſo manifeſtly oppoſed to contentiouſneſs, and when there are ſo many parallel Texts of Scripture, that do not only warrant but enforce the ſame interpretation, as you may eaſily inform your ſelf by the help of a Concordance, if you cannot procure a Bible. And this (without forgery) *is that Peace that paſſeth all underſtanding:* not becauſe it is ſome ſecret and unintelligible thing, of which

no

no rational and ſober account is to be given, or ought to be demanded. But if you can find out the Epiſtle to the *Philippians* (it ſtands not many leagues off from that to the *Galatians*) you will perceive that its grand deſign was to exhort them againſt breaking the Peace and Unity of the Church by Gnoſtick diſputes and contentions, to which purpoſe he recommends to them above all things a peaceable and quiet temper of mind, as a thing much more excellent and valuable than exactneſs of Wit and Knowledge, or (as we render it) *that paſſes all underſtanding*. But then laſtly, as for the word πίστις, I know there are ſeveral acceptations of it in the New Teſtament (and that is more than you knew before) though none ſo common as this of faithfulneſs, at leaſt none ſo proper in this place, where it is not only oppoſed to the perfidiouſneſs of the Gnoſticks, but is reckoned up as one of the fruits of the Chriſtian Faith, and therefore muſt be ſomething diſtinct from it, and conſequent to it, and then unleſs it be the Faith of Miracles, it can be nothing elſe but the vertue of Fidelity. And now I hope you ſee what reaſon I had to ſlight *J. O's* Cavil as too trivial to need or require

quire

quire a ſet and ſerious Anſwer, though your impertinency has forced me to your ſhame upon ſuch a tedious and needleſs Task, *Notwithſtanding that the Fortune of Cæſar and the Roman Empire depend not upon it.* But no ſooner can I any where mention *Cæſar* or the Roman Empire, but your blood immediately riſes, and you are paſt all patience. I cannot imagine the ground of your Antipathy, unleſs it be, that when *Cæſar* took the Empire upon himſelf, he turn'd the Common-wealth into a Monarchy. But whatever the picque might be, this I am ſure of, that there is not any one paſſage in which theſe words occurr through all my writings that has eſcaped your wit and fury. You think it a pleaſant conceit to find me ſo often medling with the Roman Empire. And yet not ſo often neither, for what is it to quote ſomething of its affairs and tranſactions ſix times in above a thouſand pages, that is about once in a Book as big as yours; It is no more to a man that reads *Livie* and *Tacitus* than ſix kicks was to *Daw* after he had read *Seneca.* At leaſt it is not half ſo often as you have hooked in Gazette, and that you know is in compariſon a very Modern Hiſtory. For if you will conſult

ſult your Almanack, it is a great while ſince the building of *Rome*, 2424 years; and yet from its very foundation it has alwayes been a place of very great action, and bred more buſineſs for Heroick Song than *Gondibert* or all the Princes of the *Lombard* Race, and its Story is not ſo much the Hiſtory of a particular Nation as of the whole World; and yet after all, you are pickeering at the Roman Empire five times for my once. You have informed Princes that *Julius Caſar* was ſtabb'd for ſubverting the Liberties of the Common-wealth : And another Roman Emperour for giving the word unhandſomly. From you we learn, that in his time the Empire was ſtretched to its largeſt dimenſions, though the learned ſay, that hapned not till the Reign of *Trajan*. From you we learn that it coſt the Roman Empire ſome Millions of Men to gain the Dominion of Words, and yet that *Auguſtus* though ſo great an Emperour, and ſo valiant a man, (but being withal a very wary Prince) was uſed to fly from a new word as ſtudiouſly as a Mariner would avoid a Rock for fear of ſplitting. From you we learn that the Emperour *Tiberius* when he was very angry would curſe a little; and that *Julian* was

Pag. 181.
Pag. 244.
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was not only a powerful Holder-forth, but the firſt Founder of the Inquiſition. From you we learn that there was no love loſt between the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, and that *Geneva* was the *Helvetian* paſſage that *Cæſar* ſpeaks of in his Commentaries. From you we learn that there
Pag. 219. was a certain Roman Emperour, who triumphed over the Ocean, becauſe he had gather'd Periwinkles and Scallop-ſhells on the Beach; with an hundred more that you have told as but idle ſtories, and yet Kings can tell how to make uſe of them, and learn to behave themſelves dutifully to their Subjects, and not force
Pag. 251. them to Conform, remembring *Cæſars bloody Coat*. Here is twice as much Roman Empire in 300 Pages, as I have in 1300. And now though no other Urchin-Pamphleteer, no not *Martyn* nor his Cubs, would have pelted me with ſuch lean and meager Cavils as theſe, yet this is not enough to aſſwage your Fanatique zeal and malice to abuſe me for perverting the Texts that I have quoted, unleſs I may be abuſed for thoſe that I never (for any thing you know) ſo much as mentioned, or read; and thus when you cite for your own convenience this paſ-
Pag. 120. ſage, *That Rebellion is as the ſin of witchcraft*;

craft; you are pleaſed to adde too, that *this Text will ſcarce admit my Interpretation*. And yet you know no more what my Interpretation would be, than you do what Rebellion and Witchcraft are. But fear not, you are I perceive concern'd (for what reaſon you your ſelf beſt know, I know none) leſt I ſhould interpret it of the Rebellion of Subjects againſt their Prince. No, but (if it will do you any ſervice) we will reſign up this Text to the Long-Parliament ſide, and you know a friend of ours that has vindicated its true meaning againſt a learned Man abroad that indiſcreetly and injudiciouſly enough objected it againſt the late Rebellion.

But that which is ſtill more pleaſant is to ſee ſuch a one as you ſeriouſly reproving the Divine for making merry with the day of Judgment, becauſe forſooth, when I had baſled *J. O.* and he had cited me to anſwer for it at that day, I laughed at the ſillineſs of his ſummons, and thought it a very peeviſh and impertinent Appeal. For to what purpoſe ſhould he or any man elſe write *Eriſtical* Books to ſatisfie the World in the Innocence and Juſtice of their Cauſe, when at the laſt they have nothing to plead in their own defence

fence but by appealing to the World to come? *'Tis* (I say it again) *an easie matter by this dancing and capering humour to perpetuate all the Controversies in the World, how plainly soever determinable, to the coming of* Elias; *and after this rate shall the Barbers Bason remain* Mambrino's *Helmet, and the Asses Pannel a furniture for the great Horse till the day of Judgment.* You seem much pleased with this Quotation, and travel'd a great way to fetch it in, and it is a very pertinent story to represent the folly of such impertinent Appeals. For Sir you must know that once upon a time a Knight-Errant (you may have read of) despoiled a poor Village Barber of his Bason, (which the poor man in rainy weather was wont to wear upon his head instead of an Oyl-case to preserve his Hat) supposing it to have been the enchanted Helmet of one *Mambrino* a notorious Magician of those times. But a while after the Barber happening into the same Inne with the Knight, spies his Bason and cries stop Thief; at this an uproar is made, the Lye is given, and the Inne is immediately fill'd with nothing but plaints, and cries, and screeches, and confusions, and fears, and dreads, and disgraces, and flashes, and buffets, and blows,

blows, and ſpurnings, and kicks, and twecks, and effuſions of Blood. But at laſt by the mediation of ſome that had more Wit and leſs Courage than others, the Tumult was appeaſed, the whole buſineſs between the Knight and the Barber was referr'd to the Arbitration of ſome pleaſant fellows, that were preſent at the Fray; but they reſolving to turn all into Mirth determine at laſt upon grave and ſolemn deliberation, that the Baſon indeed to them ſeem'd an Helmet, but yet they durſt not ſwear that it was ſo in good earneſt, and therefore for the greater ſafety enjoyn'd both parties to refer its Deciſion to the day of Judgment. No doubt, much to the Barbers comfort and ſatisfaction. And juſt thus has J. O. dealt with me, who having fallen as rudely upon me as the Knight did upon the poor man, and coming off with no great advantage either to the Juſtice of his Cauſe or the Reputation of his Wit, gravely ſummons me to the day of Judgment, where though I am prepared to anſwer him and all the World, yet I cannot but deem it a very ſimple and ridiculous determination of any Controverſy that concerns the Affairs of this preſent Life, to adjourn it to the Life to come, becauſe as

to

to the preſent purpoſe the deciſion will come ſomewhat too late. Now methinks it is a very hard caſe if a man cannot deſpiſe this Confidence and Folly without making a mockery of the ſupreme Judge and Judicature. But that which moſt troubled me was to ſee proud men abuſe themſelves and the World with ſo ſerious a thing, ſo as whenever they expoſe their own diſcretion by any raſh or ſilly Attempt, they preſently call down for Fire from Heaven upon any man that does but ſmile at their weakneſs. And it is a ſad and prodigious thing to obſerve how ſome men feed and pamper their Malice with Religion, and depute the Divine Juſtice the Executioner of their Rancour and Bitterneſs, and make the World to come a mere ſhelter for Anger and Diſcontent. When their minds are throughly ſowr'd with ruminating upon Injuries and Diſgraces, and this World ſeems to run counter to their deſigns, then they'l take refuge and ſanctuary in the other, that ſo if they cannot bear up againſt their Enemies here, then Hell and the day of Judgment may make amends for all. And if you had indeed marked *J. O's* looks (as you pretend you did) when he ſpoke of this day, you could not but

have

have obſerved what a mighty eaſe and ſatisfaction it was to his diſcontented mind, and that the very hopes of ſome revenge then did as much allay his Maladies, as if he had really executed the utmoſt of his ſpite and Malice now. I am ſure any man that reads the Character of the Perſons that he in his Chriſtian meekneſs ſummons to this judicature, will eaſily conclude he was in no very kind and loving humour, *viz.* that they are ſuch as have no regard to Truth, or Modeſty, or Sobriety towards God or Man, that they are only animated by their ſecular Intereſt or deſire of Revenge, that they are hard hearted and incompaſſionate, that they have no thoughts but of Rage and Deſtruction; that they are for nothing leſs than Maſſacres, and cutting Throats, *&c.* This is a ſweet and obliging Character, and it is not to be doubted but that *J. O.* made no queſtion of being too hard for ſuch Rake-hells as theſe at the day of Judgment. And againſt ſuch as theſe it is that he has denounced theſe Curſes. "Curſed be you of the Lord "with all the Curſes that are written in "the Law, and all the Curſes that are "denounced againſt deſpiſers of the Go"ſpel. Yea, be you *Anathema Maranatha*; Expoſ. on 130. Pſal. Pag. 275.

" *tha* 3 curſed in this World always until " the coming of the Lord 3 and when the " Lord comes, be ye curſed from his Pre- " ſence into everlaſting Deſtruction. " Yea, Curſe them all ye Holy Angels of " God, as the obſtinate Enemies of your " King and Head the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. " Curſe them all ye Churches of Chriſt, " as deſpiſers of that Love and Mercy, " which is your Portion, your Life, your " Inheritance 3 let all the Saints of God, " all that love the Lord, curſe them, and " rejoyce to ſee the Lord coming forth " mightily, and prevailing againſt them " to their everlaſting ruine. Why ſhould " any one have a thought of Compaſſion " towards them, who deſpiſe the Com- " paſſion of God? or of mercy towards " them, who trample on the Blood of " Chriſt? —— Nay, God forbid, we " hope to rejoice in ſeeing all that Ven- " geance and Indignation, that is in the " right hand of God, poured out unto " Eternity upon our Souls. By this you may perceive what *J. O.* means by talk- ing of the day of Judgment when he is angry, and that he then deſigns for him- ſelf no ſmall Devils Office. Oh! the day of Judgment! how does it allay all Maladies and Diſcontents! Then ſhall it

be

be one part of his Eternal Bliſs to behold his own and the Lord Chriſts Enemies lodged in Eternal Flames. The Brimſtone of the damned ſhall ſhed a perfume up into his Heaven, and their ſhrieks and howlings ſhall be as muſical to him as the Hallelujahs of bleſſed Spirits. Not that he is in the leaſt unwilling to forgive all affronts and unkindneſſes, but that God never will. Ay, that is the comfort of their Spite and Malice. They ſnatch not the Sword out of his hand, only becauſe they hope the ſtrokes of an Almighty Arm will light heavier than theirs. They put out their Revenge to Intereſt, and are content to ſtay a little for it till hereafter, becauſe then they expect to have it payed in with infinite Emprovements, and *hope to rejoyce in ſeeing all that Vengeance and Indignation, that is in the right hand of God, poured out unto Eternity upon their Souls.* Truly a very comfortable ſpending of Eternity, and a raviſhing Deſcription of the Joys of Heaven. But as for your part (had I made too light of that terrible day) your ſeriouſneſs looks more abuſively than my Mirth; you bring it in in ſuch a ſly and ſnearing way, and you preach upon it in ſuch untoward and light

Expreſſions, as would give occaſion to any man, though he were endued with ſome more Charity and Civility than your ſelf, to make a ſhrewd Conjecture
Pag. 198. of your Opinion. *How many good jeſts have you baulkt even in writing your Book, leſt you ſhould be brought to anſwer for every prophane and idle Word!* A wicked Knave! it ſeems you had them all in your Heart. But whilſt you conceal your good Jeſts for fear of Damnation, could you ever hope to be ſaved by ſo many bad ones? Can a man ſtrein ſo much and beat ſo far about to hale in a poor malicious and ſmutty Conceit, and yet ſtudy to baulk good Jeſts though they always come in eaſily and of their own accord? Could you take ſo much pains to miſtake through ſo many Pages *J O* for one word, and then I Vowel for I Conſonant to rear a few deſpicable fancies, and yet think to perſwade the World that you have baulkt a Thouſand good Conceits for fear of ac-
Pag. 157. counting for idle words? But ſeeing you are pleaſed to *attribute ſomething to my Judgment, and deſire to know what I think in good earneſt of theſe things.* If it weigh any thing with ſuch a one as you, that dare not truſt either your Soul or your Money with one of my Robe ſince the ſi-

niſter

niſter Accident of Picquet, I declare frankly that I would by no means adviſe you to check and mortifie your wit for fear of the day of Judgment, for I will enſure you that neither your ſelf nor any friend of yours ſhall then fare the worſe for a good Jeſt. But yet you are afraid of being brought to anſwer for every prophane word; poor man, never be ſcrupulous, for good jeſts are never prophane. Thus have you unawares given the publique a tryal of your judgement of good wit, whilſt you think it conſiſtent with prophaneneſs. But could ever any Creature in the world beſide thy ſelf have been ſo ſcandalouſly impertinent as to beg excuſe for the ſparingneſs of his good jeſts only to avoid the danger of entrenching upon prophaneneſs, and yet at the ſame time ſtuff a witleſs and ridiculous Libel with ſo much impudence, malice and ribaldry? Your laſt charge upon this Article is ſo ſilly, that out of meer pity to your ignorance I could almoſt paſs it by in ſilence; *viz.* that whereas I affirm that our Saviour, when he whipt the buyers and ſellers out of the Temple, took upon him the perſon and priviledge of a Jewiſh Zealot, *that is* (ſay you) *the ſecond perſon of the Trinity did* Perſonam

induere *of a notorious Rogue and Cut-throat.* But to omit the classicalness of your translation out of *English* into *Latin*, I perceive you are as much a stranger to the Rabbies as to the Push-pin Divines (and the truth is they are both much of the same understanding) and therefore at present I shall only advise you for the cure of your ignorance to consult Mr *Selden de Jure Naturali & Gentium, Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 4. and a little Treatise of Dr *Hammonds* upon the Subject, and there you will find a vast difference between a Jewish and a Fifth-Monarchy Zealot; or between the Order of Zealots in the Jewish Common-wealth founded in imitation of *Phinees* and *Elias*, and that was impower'd, or at least licensed by Publique Authority to execute notorious Malefactors without form and process of Law; and those bloody Cut-throats that under this disguise play'd such reaks in the City at the destruction of *Jerusalem.* I say no more, but I hope you will acknowledge my civility to let so great a miscarriage escape with so mild a correction. Take warning, and play no more at my heels with such trifles as these; if you do, thank your self, if you go yelping off.

But of all the gall you have lickt up from

from *J. O*'s vomit, methinks there is none ſo rank and bitter as your Charge of Schiſm againſt the Church of *England* upon the account of your Fanatique Separation; and that for no wiſer Reaſons, than firſt, becauſe Schiſm rhimes to Iſm; and ſecondly, becauſe Mr *Hales* has written a Pamphlet upon the Subject. As for the firſt I ſcorn to anſwer it, though it is ſurpriſing beyond all *Bayes* his Plots, and *Martyns* pranks. As for the ſecond, if Mr *Hales* have printed any thing that reflects upon the Church of *England* (though I have a very deep reſpect for his worth and piety) it is no more to be regarded than if it had been bolted by ſuch deſpicable Scriblers as your ſelf and *J. O.* and that is your anſwer. But if he had any ſuch deſign, it is enough if he will ſtand to his own definition of Schiſm, that you have ſet in the Van of your long Quotation, that it will concern the Church of *England* no more than *J. O*'s charge of Socinianiſm, *viz.* That *Schiſm is an unneceſſary ſeparation of Chriſtians from that part of the viſible Church of which they were once Members.* Now he muſt be a bold man and ſomething more, that will venture to aſſign any Reaſon (beſide yours of Rhithm) that ſhall con-

vict the Church of *England* of being the cauſe of any unneceſſary ſeparation from that part of the viſible Church, of which it was once a Member, only becauſe you and your Clients the Nonconformiſts tye your ſelves by confederacy not to ſubmit to her neceſſary injunctions; for if the things ſhe requires and impoſes in order to the due and decent performance of Gods Worſhip are not neceſſary of themſelves, (as you plead) yet either theſe or ſome other as unneceſſary as theſe are. And then good Noble Marqueſs you might have put up your trumpery too, and ſpared that grateful Penance you have undergone in tranſcribing ſo many pages for your own proper uſe out of that Authour. For whatever he has ſuggeſted after this, you may aſſure your ſelf the Church of *England* neither is nor will be concern'd. I am not ignorant that he has dropt ſome looſe paſſages in that Treatiſe, for which himſelf was then cenſured, and the Book is ſtill, though the Authour be pardoned, becauſe as he did not firſt publiſh it, ſo he afterwards recanted it. At leaſt it is too well known that this learned man was in his younger years too much tainted with the Socinian Tenets (perchance for their novelty and ſingularity)

ſingularity) and ſo might vent ſome expreſſions derogatory to the eſtabliſht diſcipline of the Church in which he lived conformable to the mind and doctrine of *Socinus*. Who (you know) had an ambition to ſet up for as great a Patriarch as *Calvin*, and therefore labour'd as *Calvin* did to erect a New Church of his own, and diſtinct from all other Communions, only that it might bear his own Name. In purſuance of this deſign he was forced to contrive ſuch Conditions of Church-membership, as flatly condemn'd the Conſtitution of all the eſtabliſh'd Churches in the world, and conſequently warranted his ſeparation from them. Of this if you are not ſatisfied you may ſee enough in his own Epiſtles to *Radecius* upon this Argument, where you may too (if you have any mind to it) trace Mr *Hales* his Books of Schiſm, and undergo another as grateful a Penance in tranſcribing and conſtruing as much more to your own, *i. e.* no purpoſe. The next time you noſe the Church of *England* with Mr *Hales*, let the *Diſquiſitio Brevis* be your Book. I will add no further cenſure of him, he was a good man, and therefore if he had any defects, I ſhall chooſe to cover them

with

Pag. 18. *with that additional Civility that* (you say) *consecrates the ashes of the deceased.* I see you are a friend to the consecration of Reliques though not of Chappels, for you have made bold to trample upon the Learned and Venerable Bishop *Andrews* his ashes for leaving behind him
Pag. 309. *a form of Consecration of a Church or Chappel, and of the place of Christian Burial, i. e.* for being a little concern'd that Posterity should know some difference between St. *Pauls* and a Stable. However I shall not treat Mr *Hales* for your sake so as you have Bishop *Bramhal* for mine, whom because, as you enviously think, I have over-praised, though you profess your self utterly unacquainted either with his Person or his Writings, you will not allow the truth of any one period of all the Commendations I have given him, but represent him as a crackt-brain'd fel-
Pag. 43. low *that was stroke with a notion, and crazed on one side of his head,* and so busied himself, and troubled the world as other mad men are wont to do with extravagant and impracticable projects, or *in digging through the separating Isthmos of Peloponesus, and making a Communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.* Nay, you are not satisfied with making

making the Biſhop alone an undertaking Coxcomb, unleſs you may throw in *Grotius*, and all the wiſeſt and learnedeſt heads of Chriſtendom into the ſame basket, they only talkt like conceited fellows that *went bigg forty years with impoſſibilities*. And this is as modeſtly chatter'd as can reaſonably be expected from ſuch an Urchin as you, that are ſo ſufficiently unqualified to give a competent judgement of the beſt and moſt probable terms of Reconciliation, that you are as yet to learn the differences of the ſeveral diſſenting Parties among themſelves. Go to your Syſtems and your Syntagms, your ſucking-bottles of Orthodoxy, before you preſume ſo laviſhly to ſpend your Cenſures againſt the moſt pregnant wits, and beſt improved Scholars in the Chriſtian world. But to all wiſe and diſcreet men the accommodation is feaſible enough, when the truly learned and ſober of all intereſts are ſo inclinable to it; eſpecially when the beſt part of the Church of *Rome* it ſelf are as deſirous to aboliſh their corruptions out of their own Church, as we are to keep them out of ours. The two hindrances are the pride of the *Jeſuites* on their ſide, and the fierceneſs of the *Calviniſts* on ours, ſo that Pag. 29.

neither

neither of them will part with a pin (though it have neither head nor point) for the peace & proſperity of the Church, but the former are reſolved one and all to adhere unalterably to their old Innovations, and the latter to their new ones. And here ſnap me not up too nimbly, for it is no Bull to ſtile the Innovations of the Church of *Rome* old, ſo they are when compared to the *Calvinian* Novelties. But ſhutting out theſe two fiery & waſpiſh Sects for eternal wranglers, it is no ſuch difficult thing for all ſober men to agree upon a form of primitive ſimplicity; or if it be, I am ſure it is not incumbred with ſo many difficulties as was the attempt of the Reformation, and yet ſo zealous a Proteſtant as your ſelf would not, I ſuppoſe, have diſcouraged thoſe men that aroſe to that great work, from the conſideration of thoſe many and great inconveniences that might probably enſue upon it. However though they had been favour'd neither with Power nor Opportunity to effect it, yet it had been worthy the greatneſs of their minds to recommend ſo brave and pious a work to the Princes of Chriſtendom. And ſo it was of Biſhop *Bramhal* and *H. Grotius* (that *prodigiouſly-eraſtio-arminio-ſocino-pontificio-*

pontificio-politique Head-piece, as a certain long-winded Preſbyterian calls him) to inform the world that the diſtance between Party and Party was not ſo wide and irreconcileable as ſome hot and eager Bigots would repreſent it, and their endeavours have been kindly enough accepted by the beſt and moſt judicious men of all Communions. But here I am ſnapt, for how cleverly do I contradict my ſelf, when I ſay, that *the Biſhop was not ſo vain nor ſo preſuming as to hope to ſee his deſign of Catholique agreement effected in his dayes*, and yet but two pages before I had told you, that *he finiſht all the glorious deſigns he undertook*, here no doubt I am trapt in a palpable contradiction, and yet the eſcape is as eaſie as the pitfall, for the Biſhop only undertook to propound the way of a Catholique agreement, not to effect it, ſo that though he were not ſo vain as to hope to ſee it effected in his dayes, yet for all that he might finiſh all the glorious deſigns he undertook, ſeeing he only undertook the propoſition not the execution of this glorious deſign. You ſee how little you get by faſtning upon any of my Aſſertions, no more than one of the Curr-dogs (you ſpeak of) would by ſtarting and worrying Pag. 27.

worrying of an Hedge-hog. As for the reſt of my Character of the Biſhop, I ſcorn to juſtifie it, it were an affront not only to the greatneſs of his Worth but of his Name, that will bear a much loftier Panegyrick than I am able to compoſe for the conſecration of his aſhes. Though I could tell you how by his skill and courage he forced back the Revenues of the Church of *Ireland* out of ſuch hungry mens hands as yours, for there you muſt know they had finiſht the Reformation that you only propound, that is, they had unrevenued the Clergy, and in Conformity to the Primitive Times had turn'd all the Tythes into Lay-fees, only allowing the Vicars comfortable ſtipends of about twenty or forty ſhillings *per annum*. Now to me it ſeems as difficult a Task to force men of ſacrilegious ſtomachs to diſgorge their Prey after it has been ſo long poucht, as to you it does, *to dig through the ſeparating Iſtmos of Peloponeſus*. But I will not, only to ſatisfie your petulant exceptions, give a retail of all the proofs of this great mans prudence and courage; it is enough that he related to the Earl of *Strafford*, and if he had not an hand in all his enterpriſes, yet (though he were none of his Secretary)

tary) he had an head in all his Counſels, and that alone, if all the reports I have heard of that Great Man be true, will ſuffice to entitle him to ten times greater Elogies than thoſe wherewith I have *conſecrated his aſhes*, eſpecially when you your ſelf allow ſome *additional civility* to the praiſes of the *deceaſed*. But if my character of him be too *termagant* (abuſe me not for this fantaſtick word, as you do for ſeveral of *J. O*'s, when it is your own) yet it is not ſo romantick, as your own luſcious and fuſtian lines wherewith you would *embalm the aſhes* of your own *Hero, in whom you cannot but admire that Majeſty and Beauty which ſits upon the forehead of maſculine Truth and generous Honeſty*. This is properly to trick up the good Old Divine in a yellow coif and a bulls head, to ſet Majeſty and Beauty upon the forehead of his Maſculine Truth. The forehead of truth is a ſingle flower of a ſtronger and more rapping ſcent than a whole poſie of Dr *Bailys*. But we ſtill take an higher flight, *He was a man that had clear'd himſelf from froth and groans*. As ſcurvy a Commendation this as one ſhall lightly meet with! when the loftieſt thing that can be ſaid of ſo Great a Man as Mr *Hales*, is, that he was

neither

neither a Madman nor a Fanatique. But seeing I have *acquitted my self so ill-favourdly to the Bishop, that were he alive he would be out of love with himself, and that you* (though a stranger to his worth and person) *account it a work of some piety to vindicate his Memory from so scurvy a Commendation.* I will (to make him some amends) trick him up in some of those elaborate and studious periods wherewith you have with an additional civility endeavour'd to Consecrate the ashes of the deceased. " I am confident " the Bishop studied to do both God " and His Majesty good Service, so that " he ought never to be mention'd with- " out due honour; but alas, how ut- " terly was he mistaken, though so learn- " ed, so pious, so wise a man, he seemed " to know nothing beyond Ceremonies, " Arminianism, and Manwaring, and " seemed to place all the business both of " Christianity and State in persecuting " men for their Consciences differing " from him in smaller matters; with " these he begun, and with these he end- " ed, and thereby deform'd the whole " Reign of the best Prince, that ever " weilded the English Scepter, turning " his whole Kingdome into a Prison.

" What

" What Cenſures, what Excommunica-
" tions, what Deprivations, what Impri-
" ſonments? I cannot repreſent the mi-
" ſery and deſolation, as it has been re-
" preſented to me. But wearied out at
" home, many thouſands of His Majeſties
" Subjects, to his and the Nations great
" loſs, thought themſelves conſtrain'd to
" ſeek another habitation, and every
" Countrey even though it were among
" Savages and Canibals, appear'd more
" hoſpitable to them than their own.
" Happy had it been for the King, happy
" for the Nation, and happy for himſelf,
" had he never clim'd that Pinacle. He
" was indeed a Perſon, whom my age had
" not given me leave to be acquainted
" with, nor my good fortune lead me to
" converſe with his Writings; but for
" whom I had collected a deep reverence
" from the general reputation he carried,
" beſide the veneration due to the place
" he fill'd in the Church of *England*. So
" that had any man a mind to ſhew a
" proof of his good nature and elo-
" quence, he could not in my opinion
" have fixed upon a fitter Subject of com-
" mendation. And therefore (*here mark
" the Connexion*) I could have wiſhed for
" my own ſake that I had miſſed this oc-

" caſion of being more fully inform'd of
" ſome of the Biſhops Principles, where-
" by I have loſt part of that pleaſure,
" which I had ſo long enjoyed in think-
" ing well of ſo conſiderable a perſon.
" But however I recreate my ſelf, with
" believing that my ſimple judgement
" cannot, beyond my intention, abate
" any thing of his juſt value with others.
" And ſeeing he is long ſince dead, which
" I knew but lately, and now learn it
" with regret, (tender heart!) I am the
" more obliged to repair in my ſelf what-
" ſoever breaches of his credit, by that
" additional civility which conſecrates
" the aſhes of the deceaſed. And for a
" proof of this my additional civility, I
" tell you he was an undertaking
" Church-man that had a vaſt opinion of
" his own ſufficiency, and went big forty
" years with an uſeleſs and impracticable
" project, and however he were other-
" wiſe a perſon of excellent prudence and
" learning, yet was he ſtruck with a No-
" tion and crazed on one ſide of his
" head. And ſo neglected not only his
" own Charge and Dioceſs, but the
" whole Proteſtant Intereſt both Foreign
" and Domeſtick, to take an Oecume-
" nical care upon him, which none call'd

" him

" him to, and none con'd him thanks for:
" Being upon his own ſingle judgement
" too liberal of the publique, & retrench-
" ing upon our part more than he had
" Authority for, and granting more to
" the Popiſh than they can of right pre-
" tend to. And indeed he all along com-
" plies much for peace ſake, and judici-
" ouſly ſhews us wherein our ſeparation
" from the Church of *Rome* is not war-
" rantable. And in fact made a bridge,
" as *Grotius* too did, for the Enemy to
" come over, or at leaſt laid ſome of our
" moſt conſiderable paſſes open to them
" and unguarded, and the bottom of all
" this moſt glorious deſign was only to
" fetter men ſtraiter under the formal
" bondage of fictitious diſcipline. So that
" this enterprize of Biſhop *Bramhals*, be-
" ing ſo ill laid and ſo unſeaſonable, de-
" ſerves rather an excuſe than a commen-
" dation. And beſide all this he had a
" great reſpect for poor Readers, he was
" no friend to preaching, he was a zea-
" lous Patron of Sports and May-poles,
" he was an enemy to the reading of the
" Scriptures, and the obſervation of the
" Sabbath; and laſtly, he did not pre-
" vent the *Iriſh* Rebellion, or if he per-
" formed any ſuch wonderful things as

" are aſcribed to him, the honour of it is
" due, and ought to be given to General
" *Uſher*. In ſhort, an accuſatory Spirit
" would deſire no better play than he
" gives in his own vindication. And now
" whatſoever all this may have glanced
" upon him, it was directed only againſt
" a certain Authour, that has ill-favourd-
" ly commended him, and intended out
" of pure piety (and pure piety it is) to
" vindicate his memory from ſo ſcurvy a
" Commendation, and to repair the
" breaches that he through his unskil-
" fulneſs had made in his Credit, with
" that additional civility which conſe-
" crates the aſhes of the deceaſed. And
have you not done it to purpoſe? no doubt were the Biſhop alive, this flattering Panegyrick would reconcile him to himſelf again. But certainly *ſuch improbable Elogies as theſe are of the greateſt diſſervice to their own deſign, and do in effect diminiſh alwayes the perſon, whom they pretend to magnifie.* And the reſult of all theſe elaborate and ſtudious periods of Commendation is to prove him only a moſt egregious Knave and Fool; ſuch is your piety and additional civility. I would know whether this be to trick him up in a yellow Coif and a Bulls head,

head, or to furbiſh him in martial accoutrements, like another *Odo* of *Baieux*, though in your account they are all one, and you have been ſo inconſiſtent with your ſelf as to compare the ſame commendation to both, in one page it is as effeminate as a Ladies dreſs, and in the next it is as martial as a fighting man in armour. Well! you of all men are in moſt danger of being choakt not with the ſwelling of truth (as you ridiculouſly ſpeak, for truth it ſelf never yet choakt any man) but of falſehood and calumny. Was ever civility graduated up and enhanced to ſuch a value? Had you been the very pink of courteſie you could not have endeared the Biſhop with greater ſweetneſs. Had you ſpoke the language of a Lover, and tranſcribed the Grand *Cyrus* and *Caſſandra*, you could not have courted your Miſtreſs in a more luſcious and extravagant ſtile. "Poor "Biſhop *Bramhal*, whether you or *I* are "moſt unfortunate I cannot determine; "whether you in being alwayes court-"ed, or I in being alwayes rail'd at. But "in good earneſt I think I have the bet-"ter of it; for though an ill man can-"not by praiſing confer honour, nor by "reproaching fix an ignominy, and ſo

" they may ſeem on equall terms, yet " there is more in it; for at the ſame " time that we may imagine what is ſaid " by ſuch an Authour to be falſe, we " conceive the contrary to be true. This I am ſure of, it is hard to diſparage a man more by ſlander and calumny than you have the Biſhop with all your elaborate and ſtudious periods of commendation. And this I hope is enough to convince you of your inſolence in paſſing your malepert cenſures upon a man ſo great in a matter ſo foreign, not only to your judicature but underſtanding. But this is right Fanatique Malice and Impudence to beſpatter the moſt worthy perſons with ſuch foul reproaches under profeſſion of ſo much love and ſweetneſs. " And ſo go your way like a wretch " as you are, and if you have any ſpark " of Vertue unextinguiſh'd, lament and " pine away for this deſperate folly, for " the diſgrace you have, as far as in you " is, brought not only upon this vene- " rable Prelate, but all the Church of " *England* by this undertaking, and for " the eternal ſhame to which you have " hereby condemn'd your own Me- " mory.

To this your new Edition out of Mr. *Hales*,

Hales, I care not though I caſt in that other long leſſon, that you have been at the pains to conſtrue out of Arch-Biſhop *Parker* (for ſhould I altogether baulk it, as impertinent as it is, I know your way of inſulting) wherein he cenſures the Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome* as too troubleſome and too numerous. Why, what then? nothing at all, but you have gain'd by this in Engliſh and Latine five pages, as you did eight by Mr. *Hales*, a good days work and wages eaſily earned, and you were too hard here for the Aſſigns of *Theodore Beza* and *John Calvin*; had they been aware how cheaply you came by theſe 13 Pages, they would no doubt have deducted proportionably for it out of that days Pay. But if you intended it to anyother purpoſe than barely to fill up, you ought to have proved either that the Arch-Biſhop intended this againſt the Church of *England*, though certainly by his Office he could be as to Ceremonies no Non-conformiſt. Or if he did not, that yet his words fall as heavily upon the Church of *England* as upon the Church of *Rome*. But to ſay only in general that in this paſſage he girds us no leſs than *J. O.* himſelf does in his Treatiſe of Evangelical Love, though

he does there in broad terms indite us both of Socinianism and Popery, is such an additional Civility to the Ashes of this Venerable Prelate, as was not long since offer'd him by some of your dear Brethren, when they translated his Urn out of the Chappel at *Lambeth* into an Unconsecrated Dunghil. Yes, but however (say you) if we once grant the Church a Power of establishing Humane Institutions in the Worship of God, they may accumulate their number till they become as burthensome as the Roman or the Mosaick Yoke, and therefore though the Ceremonies already injoin'd are neither many nor troublesome, yet they expose us to the peril of Superstition, for the same Authority that appoints three, may (if it please) appoint three Hundred. And when it does so, then complain; in the mean while it is (to say no worse) but a sawcy and uncivil deportment towards your Governours, to refuse Obedience to their reasonable Commands, that you may not encourage them to proceed to unreasonable Impositions. And if this may pass with you for an allowable Objection against the use and exercise of any Authority, only because it is possible it may be abused, then farewel all the Laws

and

and all the Government in the World, when 'tis ſo impoſſible for any of them to prevent or avoid this Exception. But methinks it is a pleaſant Entertainment to hear you tell ſo many ſad and heart-breaking ſtories of the Yoke of *Moſes* and Superſtitions of *Rome* upon Occaſion of three innocent Ceremonies; when they are ſo eaſie and ſo natural, ſo without labour and diſtraction, that to lift up a finger requires full as much pains and trouble. Whereas their rites were ſo numerous, ſo chargeable, and ſo troubleſome, that it was almoſt impoſſible any care ſhould conſtantly attend or exactly perform ſuch an intricate ſervice. But men that are reſolved to be ſeditious, are forced to be unreaſonable. And what can ſilence their Clamours that have the face to compare three eaſie and harmleſs Rites with the Yoke of *Moſes*, and the Tyranny of Antichriſt. But thus ſplit a Straw and lay it croſs a Fanaticks forehead, and (as hard as it is) it ſhall break the back of his Conſcience.

I could have wiſh'd you had been as much refreſhed and edified with the Arch-Biſhop's Teſtimony as with Mr. *Hales's*, that ſo inſtead of quoting a ſingle Paſſage, you might have taken upon your

your ſelf the *grateful penance of tranſcribing* his whole Book, and then you would have obliged us with that remarkable Prophecy wherewith he ſhuts up his Antiquities. "There is nothing more to "be fear'd and provided againſt in this "well-conſtituted Church of *England*, "than leſt the Clergy, whilſt it takes "pains in the Word and Truth, and is "with the greateſt Obſervance ſubject to "the Soveraign Power, ſhould be ſet "forth as a Prey and Spoil to the Laviſh "and Spend-thrifts, and be torn by the "Reproaches and Contumelies of the Ig-"norant, and expoſed to the Affronts "and Inſolences of the Raſcal-Rabble; If "this ſhall ever happen, more heavy "Scourges from God, and ſadder times "than thoſe of Queen *Mary*'s Reign may "juſtly be expected. And yet thus it has been, and thus it muſt be, wherever it is the humour and faſhion to vilifie the Prieſthood, Religion becomes contemptible with its Officers, and where that loſes its Eſteem and Reverence, Government loſes its ſupport and ſecurity. And this was at the bottom of our late wild and wanton Rebellion, that the People were debauch'd into a ſlight regard of all things Sacred and Civil by the bold and juggling

juggling ſuggeſtions of a few ambitious and ſacrilegious Malecontents, and then it was not only eaſie but natural to put Affronts upon all the Proceedings of Authority, to bear down all its Remonſtrances, and run the Common-wealth into flat Anarchy and open War. You ſee how little Execution is to be done upon the Church of *England* with the *But-end of an Arch-Biſhop*, as you expreſs it with equall Wit and Manners. Pag. 281.

Here the Quotation of my Lord *Verulam*, which you could produce to my confuſion, would in my opinion have been much more to the purpoſe; but to tell us what you can ſay without ſaying it, is only to talk to your ſelf. Or the ſtory of Pork, that you forbear to tell too, becauſe you ſay I know it, but I ſay I do not know it, or if I did, you ſhould however have had the Manners to have told it for his Majeſties ſake, becauſe he knows how to make uſe on't. Pag. 166. Pag. 320.

But another Qualm that is upon every turn throwing you into groaning Fits is, that after all my ſeeming and pretended zeal for the Church of *England* (for which you have the greateſt kindneſs in the World, were it not for the *Pick-thankneſs and Pick-pocketingneſs* of the Clergy) I ſhall

ſhall be found by any unpack'd Jury of Divines little better than a rank Eraſtian; a word you have pick'd up out of Biſhop *Bramhal*, though for any thing you know, that may ſignifie a Wizard or a Magician, yes, or a Jewiſh Zealot, *i. e.* a notorious Rogue and Cut-throat. But be it what it will, this too was (as all the reſt are) *J. O's* grievance. And you are both Crafty Colts, that when you know your ſelves unable to anſwer Arguments preſently ſpurn at them with ſome falſe and foul Recrimination. I ſcorn'd to take any notice of his Braying, and ſo I ſhould of yours; but that I perceive ſome weak and well meaning Brethren, that are only wont to skim and skip over Books, to be a little ſtartled at the Impeachment, becauſe I all along diſcourſe of the Power of the King and not of the Church, though the reaſon of it is very obvious, *viz.* becauſe the Subject I deſign'd and propoſed to treat of was the Power of the King, and not of the Church; ſo that if you and *J. O.* are aggrieved at any thing, it is for no other cauſe than that I have ſtuck cloſe enough to my own Argument, and too cloſe to yours. Now Sir, as you well remember, you have for want of wiſer Remarques

calculated

calculated at leaſt ten times over in what Year of the Lord, and upon what day of the Month my ſeveral Books were born, and then, if you will compare it, you will find that the juncture of Affairs to which the firſt was accommodated, was at a certain Seaſon after the *Chatham* Adventure, when you began to lift up your Heads, and to Noſe your Governours, and to make bold demands in the name of your Conſciences againſt the late illegal Impoſitions of King and Parliament. And you know what innumerable ſwarms of Pamphlets you were perpetually ſending abroad only to declare to all his Majeſties good Subjects (that either were already out of humour, or had a mind ſo to be) that if himſelf or any other Civil Magiſtrate whatſoever ſhall preſume to challenge or exerciſe any Authority over their Free born Conſciences in any matters of Religion whatſoever, he uſurps upon the Royalty of God, and involves himſelf in the guilt of Tyranny and Perſecution. This was loud and broad enough to alarm the Church of *England*, we underſtood the men and their meaning; and had no mind (believe me) to have that comfortable ſettlement reſtored to Church and State by his Majeſties

happy

happy Reſtauration unravel'd by theſe Men's bold and inſolent Pretences. And therefore divers Perſons out of pure Love for the Church, and Loyalty to their Prince, and Zeal to their Countrey, ſet themſelves to beat back all your new Republican Pleas of Sedition, and to aſſert his Majeſties Prerogative againſt all your old Shifts of Diſ-loyalty. Among the reſt I had no more Wit than to thruſt my ſelf too forward into the Scuffle, and to purſue you too cloſe through all your peeviſh Clamours and Pretences. For when I ſaw men of known and approved Enmity to the preſent State, buzze abroad ſuch Exorbitant Principles among the Common-People, as flatly contradict all the Principles, and defeat all the Obligations of Government, I could not, I ought not to refrain from laſhing ſuch Lewd Deſigns with ſome Warmth and Smartneſs of Reproof, and if I have any where overlaſh'd, it was out of an over-vehement Concern for the Peace and Proſperity of my Countrey; though for my own part I am not ſenſible of any one Expreſſion that is chargeable with the leaſt Harſhneſs or Incivility; I have only expreſſ'd ill things by their Proper Names; and whereas both your ſelf and

J. O.

J. O. pour fourth in every Page inceſſant complaints of Railing and Reviling, that is but an Uncivil Word that you may throw at any man that you are not fond of; and it proceeds merely from your Old prodigious Pride and Partiality to your ſelves, who whilſt you make it both your Recreation and Employment to invent or blazon Slanders againſt the Innocent, rave and ſome at all Conviction of guilt againſt your ſelves. I have challenged you often enough to ſpecifie but one foul or falſe word in all my Writings, to name but one good Quality, that you poſſeſs, that I have not granted you, or one bad one, that you diſclaim, and I have unjuſtly charged upon you, and I will be content to ſuffer all the Engines of Clergy mens Cruelty, the Pillorie, the Whipping poſts, the Galleys, the Rods, the Axes, and the Rhinolabides; nay what is a more deſperate Penance than all this, I have ſtipulated to write a Panegyrick in praiſe of the Good Nature of the Preſbyterians, and the Sincerity of the Independants, and I think it would puzzle the Wit of Mankind to invent a ſeverer Penalty, unleſs it were to write another in Commendation of your Wit and Learning. But whilſt you continue this outcry

cry againſt me only in general Terms without being able to produce particular Articles to vouch and juſtifie it, you prove nothing but your want of breeding and better Arguments, and the Calumny when you cannot drive it home, recoils upon your own Heads. He that charges another of an uncivil Crime, when he cannot make it good, indites himſelf. And yet perhaps in ſpite of my Integrity I may have been too zealous for my King and Countrey, Plain-dealing is too rough a Vertue for this falſe and ſelf-deſigning Age. But be that as it will, and as for the decency of the manner of my treating you, when I have ſaid all I can (and I have ſaid too much already) I muſt leave it to the Judgment of the World. I am now only concern'd to vindicate the matter of my diſcourſes againſt you, and here I have laid open your jugling ſo plainly that 'tis a Reproach to Mankind that you ſhould ſtill perſevere ſo immodeſtly in the ſame Impoſtures. This is no bragging, no man that had any conſiſtency in his Skull could have perform'd leſs in ſo plain and palpable a Caſe. For what can be more notorious than that

1. When you exempt your Conſciences from the juriſdiction of your Prince you

you exempt your ſelves, both in that a man and his Conſcience are one and the ſame thing, and in that he is not capable of any obligation of Laws, but purely by vertue of his Conſcience.

2. When you exempt matters of Religion from the ſame Power, you in effect exempt all things, there being nothing of any conſiderable weight or concernment in humane affairs, that is not matter of Religion, and much more ſo than thoſe things that you contend about, and this daſhes in pieces all your general pleas. But then

3. As for your particular pleas of Scandal, and an unſatisfied Conſcience, and unſcriptural Ceremonies, *&c.* what can be more evident than

1. That they are precarious and depend purely upon your own humours?

2. That they are unavoidable in all Churches and all Conſtitutions in the world?

3. That they are ſo unreaſonable as that they may be adapted or applyed to ſubvert all Government in the Church as well as ours, even your own? And if after all this you will not learn to be quiet and peaceable, you will firſt or laſt thank your ſelves for ſomething that muſt

follow; and then your being big with conſcience will not ſerve to reprieve you: You are ferreted out of all your ſubterfuges, and they are laid open to the view and ſcorn of all men. And you have now nothing left to ſhelter your ſelves, but only by ſlandering your Adverſaries, and perſwading the people (for you preſume ſtrangely upon their ignorance and ſtupidity) that whilſt we aſſert His Majeſties Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy, we inveſt him with an unhoopable Juriſdiction; which being ſo bold and rank a forgery it is to all intelligent men, (*i. e.* all ſuch as can either read or underſtand) an ample demonſtration of a deſperate and baffled Cauſe. But by the way, how is this conſiſtent with what you as often ſuggeſt, that my deſign was to write againſt the Power of the King, and *to animate the*
Pag. 278. *People againſt the exerciſe of his Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy?* Are you not ſufficiently furniſhed with informations againſt any man, that can in the ſame indictment charge him for plotting and attempting at the ſame time to aſſert the unlimited Power of Kings, and yet to allow them none at all; certainly between two ſuch wide extremes a man can never want for materials to make out an impeachment.

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But how have I animated the People a-gainſt the exerciſe of His Majeſties Supremacy? How! have I not written expreſly againſt his Indulgence to tender Conſciences? Not one ſyllable; you know well enough, I have only beat down and witneſſed againſt your demands of Indulgence, when you challenge it from the King by vertue of your Natural and Religious Rights, and charge him as a Tyrant towards his Subjects, and a Rebel againſt God, if he preſume to claim or pretend to any Juriſdiction over your Conſciences or Religious Pretences; the inſolence of this kind of talk was not to be endured, and therefore it was that I ſet my ſelf to clear and defend His Majeſties Supremacy againſt ſuch plain, and yet (to the Rout) plauſible Principles of Anarchy and Confuſion. But I was no where ſo preſumptuous as to cenſure or condemn the *meaſures he has taken of his Government*; pardon me Sir for that, we of the *Bran* of the Church of *England* have modeſty enough to ſubmit to the wiſdome of our Superiours, when ever they are pleaſed to declare their will and pleaſure. And whatever may be my own private Opinion, neither I (nor any other good Sub-

Pag. 284.

ject) ſhall ever go about to confront it to the publique Declarations of the State; ſo that as long as the Government ſhall think good to grant you Indulgence, aſſure your ſelf (whatever you ſimply
Pag. 144. ſurmiſe) I ſhall never trouble them with Remonſtrances. They underſtand the turns and junctures of their own affairs, and are the moſt competent Judges what methods are fitteſt to procure both their own and our quiet. And though they ſhould at any time miſtake, yet if there were no other tye of duty, it is more eligible they ſhould be complyed with, than that their Government ſhould be affronted, and the Common-wealth diſturbed by every man that thinks himſelf wiſer than his Governours. But Sir, though we are ſo dutiful to His Majeſty as to ſubmit to his granting Indulgence, if he apprehends it ſeaſonable for his preſent Affairs; and as for his power of diſpenſing with Laws, by vertue of his Prerogative, we have nothing to do with it by vertue of our Office, it is a matter forreign to our Judicature; and therefore it is not only manners but duty in us to leave it to our Governours to adjuſt ſuch diſputes among themſelves. But yet though we are ſo entirely ſubmiſſive to

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our Prince, yet aſſure your ſelves we ſhall never be ſo civil to you, as to ſuffer you to challenge a right to it in ſpite of his Power, and to extort it from him as he would not ſtand charged before God of Tyranny and Uſurpation. You ſee now the vaſt difference between oppoſing the Kings Power to give Indulgence, and yours to demand it; and whether he give it, or give it not, as he ſees it moſt convenient for the ends of Government, concerns neither Me nor my Writings, ſeeing in both he exerciſes that Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, that I have aſſerted to be inherent in the Supreme Power. At leaſt you ſee what reaſon I had to diſcourſe of the Kings Power, rather than the Churches, becauſe that was the only Principle you endeavour'd to batter down, and if once you could but tye up the Secular Arm, you valued not the ſtrokes of the Spiritual Rod; ſo that had I oppoſed the Power of the Church to your attempts of Anarchy, it had been as wiſely deſign'd as to ſend forth a party of Church-men to encounter a Brigade of Horſe with their Spiritual Weapons. But becauſe I ſee you are reſolved not to ſpare for laying on load enough, and have the confidence to impeach or ſuſpect a

man of any thing that is odious, if he do not expreſly proteſt againſt it, and becauſe ſome other men that I have more reaſon to ſatisfie than your ſelf, have fallen into the ſame ſuſpicion of Eraſtianiſm, take this ſhort and plain account of the whole buſineſs, for the prevention of future miſtakes. Religion then has a twofold End, either as it relates to the affairs of this preſent life, or of that which is to come, and ſo is enforced with a twofold Juriſdiction or Power of Coaction ſuitable to its reſpective ends. Now its deſign in reference to this preſent world is the peace of Societies, and the ſecurity of Government, and therefore it muſt be enforced by ſuch ſanctions as are proper to the attainment of that end, and thoſe are ſecular rewards and puniſhments; ſo that this being the Office of the Civil Magiſtrate, or (as you word it according to that deep reſpect you profeſs to Princes) the trade of Kings, to provide for the ſafety or welfare of the Common-wealth, all his Juriſdiction muſt be temporal, and backt only by external inflictions, as ſuited only to the ends of his Authority. His Power then over Religion is of a Political Nature, and is intended to the ſame purpoſe as his Power over all other

affairs

affairs of State, *i. e.* the publique peace and prosperity, and therefore need only be exercised in the same way of Jurisdiction, and this is that Authority that I have all along asserted to be the natural and unalienable Right of all Sovereign Princes. But then secondly, its design in reference to the world to come is purely spiritual, and relates only to the welfare of the Souls of men hereafter, and therefore is to be prosecuted by such enforcements as are apt to govern Souls without laying restraints upon their bodies. Now the only sanctions proper in this case are the rewards and punishments of another life, and this is the power of the Ecclesiastick State Authoritatively to declare the Laws of God to the People, and to enforce their obedience to them from the threatnings and promises of the Gospel. And to this purpose did our blessed Saviour depute the Apostolical order or succession of Apostles to superintend the Affairs of his Holy Catholique Church; it is the right of their Office and Commission, to consult, advise, and determine in all disputes that concern the Government, and the welfare of all Christian Assemblies; and their Decrees are obligatory upon the Consciences of men, by

vertue of their own proper Authority, and under their own proper penalties. For as all their Power is meerly ſpiritual, ſo are all the Sanctions of their Laws, and therefore though they cannot by vertue of their own inherent Juriſdiction puniſh the diſobedient with Civil and Secular inflictions, yet may they require and demand obedience to their conſtitutions under pain of the Divine diſpleaſure, and the laſh of the Apoſtolical Rod; and their ſentence when regularly paſſed upon refractory offenders is valid and terrible as a decree of heaven; and if there be any truth or ſenſe in our Saviours words to the Colledge of Apoſtles, that whatſoever they ſhall bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven; their Cenſures ſhall be approved and ratified by the judgement of the Almighty. And that man deſerves the wrath of God that is wantonly rebellious and incorrigible to the ſoft and gentle diſcipline of his Church, this is ſuch a deſperate and malicious peeviſhneſs, that it does of it ſelf conſign a man up to final contumacy and utter impenitence. He is too ſtubborn, and too impudent to be reclaim'd that dares raſhly bid defiance to the wiſdom and authority of his ghoſtly guides and governours;

governours; but when the exterminating ſentence is paſſed upon the Offender, it ſmites like the ſword of an Angel, it throws him out of the Church, and the ordinary capacities of Mercy, and delivers him up to the wrath and judgment of God. And this is no more than what is neceſſary to the very Being and Preſervation of all Society; in that Society cannot ſubſiſt without Order, nor Order without Authority, nor Authority without a Power of requiring and enforcing Obedience; and therefore if our Saviour have founded a Church in the world, and does deſign its continuance to the end of it, it is neceſſary he ſhould provide for its Preſervation by delegating ſome peculiar perſons to govern and guide the Society by Laws and Penalties, otherwiſe his Church were no better than a wild and ungovernable Rabble, that only meet together by chance or by humour, and are under no enforcements of orderly and peaceable behaviour. And this would be a worthy repreſentation of the Church of Chriſt, that it is only a Rout of rude People without Law or Government. But as it is neceſſary that Eccleſiaſtical Affairs ſhould be govern'd, ſo is it that this ſhould be done by Eccleſiaſtical

ſiaſtical perſons, whoſe profeſſion, and peculiar employment it is to ſtudy and underſtand thoſe matters; and 'tis but reaſonable to relye upon their judgement, who ought to be preſumed beſt skill'd in the nature of the thing, it is no more than what common prudence directs to in all other affairs of life to conſult and truſt every man in his own profeſſion; we do not apply our ſelves to Phyſicians for the ſettlement of our Eſtates, nor to Lawyers for the preſervation and recovery of our healths. But men are to be entruſted and employed with regard to their own proper skill and office, and therefore though we ſhould ſet aſide the expreſs Authority of our Saviours commiſſion to the Apoſtles and their Succeſſours for the perpetual Government of his Church, the very rules of common prudence will caſt the management of Eccleſiaſtical matters upon Eccleſiaſtical perſons; and this is ſo avowed a principle among mankind, that the Juriſdiction proper to the Church was never yet invaded by any Laicks, till t'other day the Tradeſmen and Burgers of the Corporation of *Geneva* baniſh'd their Prince and Biſhop, and then took the Government both of Church and

Vid. vit. Joan. Calvini.

and State into their own hands; and ſeated the Power of the Keys in Mr. Mayor and the Town-Clerk, and iſſued out Excommunications under the Town Seal, and every Fiſherman upon the Lake *Lemane*, if he were a Livery man of the City, immediately became an Apoſtle, and the Spirit of Infallibility forſook the whole Order of Church-men, and ſetled upon every illiterate Mechanick that had a bold Face and a looſe Tongue. And with what Apoſtolical Wiſdome and Gravity they made Religion it ſelf ridiculous, Mr. *Calvin* himſelf has inform'd us particularly in the caſes of *Bertileir* and *Perin*, who were abſolved from the Sentence of Excommunication by the Common-Council and under the Town-Seal. And 'tis obſervable that thoſe States that have made bold to deſpiſe or diſregard the Power of the Clergy, have always firſt proſtituted the Revenues of the Church to the worſt of men, and in a little time the Government of it to the Scorn and Contempt of the Common Rabble. And therefore all wiſe and pious Princes have ever choſen to govern Religion by the Counſel and Aſſiſtance of their Clergy, and to be determined in Enquiries of Faith by their Decrees and Declarations,

Vid. Epiſt. Calv. Pag. 122.

tions, for though all Power of External Coercion be veſted in the Civil Magiſtrate, yet that of teaching and declaring the Law of God is the Right and Office of Eccleſiaſticks; ſo that though they cannot force Princes to confirm and ratifie their Decrees, yet may Princes be obliged by Vertue of an Higher Authority, by regard to Piety and Religion, by the Order and Decency of things, to have reference to their Judgments; though if they will not, it is not in the Power of the Church to call them to an account for their Proceedings (as the men of *Rome* and *Geneva* talk) That ſhall be demanded at an higher Judicature; they can only declare and diſcharge their Duty, and leave the purſuance of their Cauſe to the Judgment of God. For in all Affairs whatſoever capable of External Cognizance the Supreme Civil Power muſt and will overrule; this is abſolutely neceſſary to the Order and Preſervation of Government, and the World muſt be govern'd as they will, or not be govern'd at all. And thus have I briefly proved that the Clergy muſt be veſted with ſome Power peculiar to themſelves both from the Inſtitution of Chriſt and the nature of Society,

ty, for as much as the Conſtitution of the Church as ſuch is diſtinct from that of the Civil State, ſo that all Chriſtians are obliged to the Viſible Profeſſion of the Name of Chriſt, not only without the leave, but againſt the Edicts of the Supreme Authority of Kingdomes and Common-wealths. The next thing to be conſider'd againſt *Erastus* is that their Office is not merely declarative or miniſterial, but carries proper juriſdiction in all the Acts and Exerciſes of its Power, and enforces all its Decrees by Penalties and Inflictions; and wherever we find Coercion, there is all that can be required to the Nature and Exerciſe of Juriſdiction, that is nothing elſe but a Power of Impoſing Laws and Inflicting Puniſhments, and whoever has a Right to both theſe Acts of Government, has all that Authority that is proper to Empire and Dominion; and whatſoever Privileges and Prerogatives of abſolute Sovereignty we can imagine, they are all reducible to one of theſe two Heads either a Power of requiring Obedience to its Commands or of puniſhing Diſobedience by its Penalties, and both theſe are apparently included in the Prieſtly Office, that conſiſts of two parts, firſt the Authoritative

Power

Power of Preaching, whereby they are enabled to declare Divine Laws under Penalty of the Divine Diſpleaſure, and this is proper Legiſlation, and is declared to be ſo in his Original Commiſſion granted by our Saviour to his Apoſtles and their Succeſſours to the End of the World, in that he ſent them as his Father ſent him, to teach or diſciple all Nations, whereby he derived upon them the ſame Power that himſelf was furniſht with from above to purſue the ſame ends, ſo that if he himſelf were entruſted with any proper Juriſdiction, he has conveyed and imparted the ſame to the Apoſtolical Office and Order, and that he was ſo is an unqueſtionable and granted Caſe on all ſides, and therefore he himſelf founds the Validity of their Commiſſion upon the Right of his Power. *All Power in Heaven and Earth* (ſays he) *is given me of my Father, therefore go*, &c. I am now enthroned Sovereign Lord of the whole Creation, and the Exerciſe of all my Fathers Power is entruſted to my Management, and therefore in the firſt place I appoint and Authorize you and your Succeſſors in my Name and by Vertue of my Supremacy to take care of the Guidance and Inſtruction of my Church,

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this is the Office and Power to which you are deputed next and immediately under my ſelf, in the Diſcharge and Execution whereof I engage all my Power to be immediately aſſiſtant to you to the end of the World. So that it is plain that their Power of Preaching and Declaring the Laws of the Goſpel is properly Authoritative and of the ſame Nature though of a Subordinate force with our Saviours own Dominion over Mankind, and all Men by Vertue of his Command and his Commiſſion are bound to give Obedience to their Doctrines, in the right and Faithful Diſcharge of their Truſts, as to the Authorized Stewards of his Myſteries. And then as for the other part of the Power of the Keys or Church Cenſures, it is as full of Juriſdiction as any Secular Power whatſoever; it judges, gives Sentence, and inflicts Puniſhment in Criminal Cauſes, and though they do not execute their own Judgment but leave it to the Divine Juſtice, yet where God has promiſed to abett their Cenſures by his immediate Power, 'tis the ſame thing as to all the purpoſes of Government, as if it were done by the ſtroke of their own Arm, and though they did but only miniſter to the Divine Judge-

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ment, as to these immediate Inflictions of Heaven, yet the sentence it self is a severe instance and exercise of Coercive Jurisdiction; it cuts a man off from all the Advantages of the Communion of Saints, and of our Saviours Incarnation, and that is a Capital Execution, and more affrightful to any man that makes Profession of the Christian Faith than all the Rods and Axes and Pillories and Whipping-posts of the Secular Power.

And as their Authority carries in it true and proper Jurisdiction, so is it in its Kind, Supreme, Universal and Uncontroulable; and extends to all Nations, Ages and Conditions. Kings and Princes are subject to the Spiritual Authority of their Doctrines, they have Souls to be conducted to Heaven as well as their Subjects, and therefore stand as much in need of Spiritual Guides and Instructors; for if Christ have intrusted the Spiritual Government of his Church in the hands of his Apostles and their Successors, then all its Members of what Rank and Quality soever are regularly to make enquiries, and receive determinations of Conscience from their Mouths; and when the Bishop reproves his Prince of any enormous Vice, if he refuse to hear him,

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he ſins againſt the Command of God, who has given him Authority in his name to declare and to bind every mans Duty upon his Conſcience under pain of the Divine Diſpleaſure, and it is an equal Aggravation of Guilt in all men before God to break his Commands againſt the Sentence and Declaration of his Officers. This is ſo clear and obvious a Truth, that if there be any Divine Inſtitution or perpetual Neceſſity of a Prieſtly Office in the Church, the greateſt muſt be equally bound with the leaſt to Obedience, not by the Coercion of Secular Penalties, but by the Tyes of Religion and the Judgments of God. I mean not hereby to excuſe the boldneſs and inſolence of thoſe men that take upon them to upbraid and expoſe their Prince with publick and Pulpit Reproofs. This is to abuſe the Dignity of their Office into the Ill-manners and Sedition of the Kirk, that inſulted in nothing more than putting affronts upon Kings, and expoſing them and their Authority to the contempt of the Rabble. No, but all Addreſſes to Superiours muſt be private, and prudent, and modeſt, and though Kings may and ought to be inform'd of their duty as well as Subjects, yet it muſt be done

with all the Arts of Gentleneſs and Humility; and if any man ſhall abuſe his Sacerdotal Freedome to vent unhandſom and diſgraceful Reflections upon his Superiours, he deſerves (as much as you do) the Scorn of a Buffoon and the Correction of the Stocks.

And now from theſe Premiſes it is very eaſie to determine the bounds of the Imperial and the Prieſtly Power, notwithſtanding that both are and muſt be acknowledged Supreme in their ſeveral Kinds. The Prince is Supreme and Abſolute over all things and perſons within his own Dominions, as far as they concern the Affairs of this preſent Life, but yet when they are conſider'd purely as relating to the Life to come, the Prieſt is Superiour; and therefore in all caſes of Competition (whenever they happen) he can only refer the Juſtification of himſelf and his Cauſe to the future Judgement of God, but at preſent he muſt be content either to obey the Commands, or (if in Caſes of manifeſt Obedience to God he cannot) to ſubmit to the Authority of his preſent Superiours; and if it be his Fortune to oppoſe the Judgment of his Prince, there is no remedy but he muſt ſuffer his Lot, and rather chooſe to

be

be endamaged in his own private affairs than that Government ſhould be diſturbed or defeated for his ſake. Here then is no interfering of the two Juriſdictions, the exerciſe of the one is Spiritual, and of the other Secular; and ſo being of different natures, and to different ends, they may both without any material inconvenience be ſupreme in their different kinds, and if the Eccleſiaſtical State ſhall at any time think it ſelf obliged to controwl the civil power, it is only of a ſpiritual efficacy, and brings no direct diſadvantage to the ſupreme Authority, becauſe it has ordinarily no viſible force but in the World to come, and that makes no alteration in the preſent ſtate of things. So that the exerciſe of the ſupreme civil Power is as uncontroulable as if it were abſolute and not limited by the ſpiritual, becauſe at preſent it muſt prevail as to the Government of the World, and the effectual execution of its Decrees. And thus have I (to avoid dull or wilful miſtakes) as briefly as the nature of the Subject would permit, proved the neceſſity of a ſpiritual Authority in the Church as a diſtinct ſociety by it ſelf, and in order to its peace here and the ſalvation of its members hereafter. And then

that it is not a meerly miniſterial Office, but is Authoritative to all the intents and purpoſes of Juriſdiction, and in the next place that it is ſupreme and uncontroulable in its own kind by any other Power whatſoever, and laſtly that its ſpiritual Supremacie is no infringement to the civil Rights of Sovereign Princes, in that their Power muſt notwithſtanding all Countermands whatſoever over-rule in the preſent Government of the World. And now I hope you ſee how plainly the ſpiritual Power of the Church is reconcileable with the Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy of Kings, and that there is no neceſſity (as you dream) that whoever aſſerts one muſt unavoidably caſheir the other. And upon review of the whole ſtate of the controverſie, 'tis ſome comfort and ſatisfaction to me, that as I have not veſted the civil Magiſtrate with any other Power than what is and ever has been challenged by all Common-wealths in the World, ſo I never could meet with any thing objected againſt it, but what proceeded purely from malice or inadvertency. And that is all the trouble I have been put to both by you and *J. O.* to vindicate eaſie and honeſt aſſertions from wilful or ſleepy Miſtakes.

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But the great Miſpriſion of all, and that approaches neareſt to Treaſon againſt modern Orthodoxy is my preſuming to trample upon your great ſecret of ſymbolical Ceremonies, which hard word is now become the only remaining Palladium of your Cauſe, and Idol of your Conventicles, for in our dayes it is not with you as it was from the Reign of good Queen *Elizabeth* quite down to that of the Good Long Parliament. The Good Gentlemen of thoſe times had the Holy Diſcipline, and the Scepter of the Lord Chriſt to rattle in the Peoples and the Princes ears; but thoſe good dayes are gone, and the Kirk-diſcipline when it came to be put in practice, though it were an Iron rod upon the backs of Kings, yet it proved ſuch a wooden Scepter among the Common People, that it quickly wore it ſelf into ſport and contempt, and all the little Folk that waged War with ſo much zeal and fury againſt Prelacy and Antichriſt, only aim'd their ſtroaks at random, and rail'd and raged at they knew not what, till at laſt they became aſhamed at the littleneſs of their own Pretences, and how little all of them were able to perform in behalf of the Divine Right of Preſbytery ſufficiently ap-

pears to the world by the great Smectymnuan labours. Nothing but a complicated dulneſs could ever have brought forth ſuch a phlegmatick and inſipid Pamphlet, and no man has now ſo little wit, or ſo much confidence as to own, much leſs to appear in defence of ſuch a contemptible and baffled Cauſe, or if there ſhould remain a Scot or an High-Lander ſo unalterably peeviſh, he lyes below both our ſcorn and our confutation. But though their Principles have forſaken them, yet they (ſo invincible is their conſtancy) will never forſake their Principles, but having once been drawn into a Revolt from the Church by a manifeſt Impoſture, they have too much ſtomach to confeſs their fault ſo far as only to return back to her Communion; and therefore Covenant one and all to ſtand firm to their party, and juſtifie themſelves as they can. And then the reſult of all their Meſſages, Remonſtrances and Declarations is the illegal and arbitrary impoſition of unſcriptual Ceremonies, by which (when we come to treat more cloſely) they mean nothing elſe but only thoſe three eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*, for they themſelves never ſtick to allow or practiſe any others, ſo theſe

be

be excepted. And had you wit and learning enough to judge of Non-ſenſe, you would even croſs your ſelf (were it not a Popiſh Symbol) to obſerve what a deal of Metaphyſicks *J. O.* has laviſh'd away upon this Argument. But alas, you ſhew ſo little judgment, as to ſlide over his great depths of ſubtilty, and fix upon ſpeculations ſo wretchedly ſhallow, that every man has wit enough to fathom their folly. Thus I verily believed I had in my firſt Book acquitted my ſelf manfully enough towards battering down this *Theological Scar-crow*, that you have ſet up in the high places of *Armageddon* to fray away the People, or rather Boys and Girls from the Communion of the Church; by ſhewing that it is ſo far from being a crime in any Ceremonies to be ſignificant and ſymbolical, that it is their only nature and office ſo to be; that the ſignification of all Ceremonies is equally arbitrary; that it is of the very ſame kind, and to the very ſame purpoſe with that of words; and therefore that all tender Conſciences have the ſame reaſon to be offended at the one as the other. Theſe I thought *in the ſimplicity of my heart* ſolid and ſatisfactory notions, and counted upon it that we ſhould never

more be annoyed with such a thin and empty bubble. But behold out stalks the great *Leviathan J. O.* and pours upon me such a volley of Distinctions, as would have stunded a whole Regiment of stouter and more experienced Schoolmen than my self. In the first place he distinguishes (very subtilely!) between the *Appointment* and the *Institution* of Ceremonies, the first he allows of, but the last is or may be blasphemy. From hence he advances to distinguish between natural and customary signs, and then of customary signs, between Catholique and Topical, and these all pass muster. But as for all such wicked signs as signifie neither by Nature nor by Custom, but only by vertue of their Institution, they are full of such rank and desperate Idolatry, that the people of God ought rather than suffer themselves to be defiled with them, to tear the Church into Schisms, and the State into Wars, to murther and banish Kings, to subvert the Government and destroy Religion. At their own peril therefore be it (as he threatens them) if Magistrates will be venturing at such a dangerous extravagance of power, because

Pag 277. 8, 9, 10.

1. They have not any absolute Au-

thority

thority over the ſign and thing ſignified.

2. They cannot change their Natures, nor create a new relation between them.

3. They cannot give a myſtical and ſpiritual efficacy to them. And then laſtly, as for the ſignification of words that I have parallel'd with that of Symbols, the Schoolmen have demonſtrated it, that when they are ſigns of ſacred things, they are ſigns of them, only as things, but not as ſacred. Here are dragons and deeps; it were worth a mans while to work in the Mines of Metaphyſicks for ſuch Jewels as theſe; this is gibberiſh ſtrong enough to make a Roſi-crucian mad, and were *J. O.* in good earneſt, I ſhould (notwithſtanding all Quarrels) be ſo much his friend as to provide him a dark lodging and clean ſtraw. But what wretched fooling this is, any man that has a mind to the ſport, may ſee in my Reply to him where I gave my ſelf the divertiſement of ferreting him from diſtinction to diſtinction, *i. e.* from non-ſenſe to nonſenſe. And methinks it is no unpleaſant ſight to ſee a poor Rat thus to work and traverſe it about, to find ſome little hole wherein he may hide his baffled head, & when he can hope for no other ſhelter then to ſtand ſtill and wink hard. But as

for

for your part though you are in the very ſame ſtraits, yet you have the confidence to think your ſelf cloſe, with your eyes open, and all the world ſtaring at you. Thus whereas your moſt aſtoniſhing objection from *Cartwright* downwards (for juſt where he begun you have all left off, and ſtand like the ſtatue of *Eraſmus* in the poſture of turning over a leaf, but without ever turning it over will ſtand in the ſame poſture to the day of judgement) againſt the Inſtitution of Symbolical Rights, is, that it is no leſs an attempt than to entrench upon the Divine Prerogative by offering to inſtitute new Sacraments, *J. O.* in particular expreſſes his ſenſe of it thus, that to *ſay that*
Pag. 277. *the Magiſtrate has power to inſtitute viſible ſigns of Honour to be obſerved in the outward worſhip of God, is upon the matter to ſay, that he has power to inſtitute new Sacraments; for ſo ſuch things would be.* For this I took him up ſomewhat roundly as he deſerved, I upbraided him with the precariouſneſs of the Cavil; I challenged him with that plain anſwer that he could not but know had alwayes been returned to it, *viz.* that Divine Inſtitution is the only thing neceſſary to the nature and the office of a Divine Sacrament,

crament, and ſo at laſt I dared him to renounce his Argument if he would not take notice of his anſwer. And I could do no leſs, when they have for above one hundred and fifty years together vext and haunted us with ſuch a new-fangled nothing. To all this what do you reply? why, after a tedious deal of forced mirth and grinning you gravely inform us that the Non-conformiſts were *never ſo ſilly as to attempt to prove that theſe Symbolical Ceremonies are indeed Sacraments. Nothing leſs, 'tis that which they moſt labour againſt.* Pag. 218. And now is it not time for me to cry Victory and Triumph, when I have put an end to ſo long and bloody a War, when I have gain'd all that we have fought for ever ſince *Cartwrights* Rebellion, when you your ſelf have reſign'd up the Controverſie, and tyed all their Champions and their Chiefteins to my Chariot wheels? Are you not a truſty Patron of the dear Brethren and their dear Cauſe to give them all up thus broadly for a generation of egregious and incorrigible block-heads, ſhould they ever be ſo weak as to go about to prove that theſe Symbolical Ceremonies are indeed Sacraments? When it is the very *Curtana* of the Cauſe, when it is the only

weapon

weapon wherewith *Cartwright* gored the Bowels of the Church, and that has been tranſmitted ſucceſſively to all their Champions down to *J. O.* and the Cobler of *Gloſter*; when it is ſo undeniably upon record in all their writings; when it is the ſubject of ſo many whole Books; and when it is ſtill the laſt word of all their brawls and contentions. So that

Pag. 218. you ſay well, *It is time indeed for the Non-conformiſts to deſire a truce to bury their dead, nay, there are none left alive to deſire it, but they are ſlain every mothers ſon of them.* But it is you that are Sir *Solomon* or the dead-doing *Scanderbag*, that have laid them all a gaſping, and not left ſuch a Creature as a Non-conformiſt in Nature. Was ever Cauſe thus defended, or men thus abuſed, to be marked out for a ſucceſſion of incurable dunces for ſpending ſo much zeal and logique in ſo abſurd a Cauſe. But poor *J. O.* what an unfortunate wretch art thou, that thou art an old Cob-nut in Controverſie, conquerour of Scores upon ſcores, in compariſon of whoſe *Eriſtical* prowes both Sir *Solomon* and his Sword were but wooden tools; that when thou wert ſo unfortunately and ſo unexpectedly daſht to pieces, that then

thou

thou ſhouldſt be ſo ſtrangely unhappy or unadviſed, as to hire ſuch an empty and unkernel'd ſhell as this to avenge thy ruine, a thing ſo ſoft and harmleſs that a pellet of dow or ſoft clay would have done as much execution, and yet ſo filly and ignorant too that he knows not on which ſide to play his ſtroaks, and as lamentably bruiſed as thou art, has diſcharged all his little ſtrength upon thine own head. He has drol'd upon you (*as far as his wit would give him leave*) in as many capacities as you have paſt through Providential Revolutions; he ſometimes abuſes you, as tall J the Conſonant, and ſometimes as little I the Vowel; ſometimes he makes ſport with you, as in Conjunction with O, ſometimes as at oppoſite points; ſometimes you are a Taliſman *i. e.* (as much as you deteſt it) an Idolatrous Image, and ſometimes an He-cow, *i. e.* either a Bull or an Oxe, and at laſt a very man with an hot head, a wide mouth, a rude tongue, rotten teeth, and long nails, with abundance more of ſuch ſmall tap-laſh and blew-*John* that he has wantonly ſquirted upon your venerable and immortal Name. And then after all this has recorded you for a dull and ſenſeleſs tool upon ſuppo-

ſition

fition that you could be ſo ſimple and weak-headed as to aſſert, what he could not but know you have given under your own hand in legible black and white. And now have you not all reaſon to joyn throats to rail down that villainous Engine the Preſs, and the drunken Dutchman that would not be content with the Wine-Preſs; not for contriving (as you accuſe him) thoſe innumerable Syntagms of Alphabets that have ever ſince peſter'd the world; for there is not one Alphabet now extant, that was not reduced into the Syntagm of a Criſ-croſs row ſome ages before the Dutch-man was born; except only the Univerſal Character, and that was invented ſome Ages ſince. I had almoſt forgot *J. O's* Primer, that would never ſuffer the Letters to be ranged under the Conduct of a Criſ-croſs: For having of his own head diſbanded the Lords Prayer, he was Commiſſion'd by Authority of Parliament to caſheir or at leaſt new model the Criſ-croſs-row; and what reformation he wrought in the ſeveral ſquadrons of vowels, mutes, ſemivowels, *&c.* I ſhall not here relate; but as for the poor Croſs, that was without any mercy turn'd out of all ſervice, not becauſe it kept alwayes

wayes ſo cloſe to the Loyal or malignant party, but becauſe it was a mere ſymbolical Ceremony ſet there on purpoſe to transform a plain engliſh Alphabet into a Popiſh Criſ-croſ-row. A great and pious work! worthy the pains of ſo great a Divine, and the Wiſdome of ſo long a Parliament.

But to return; has not your beloved Preſs after all your fondneſs ſold you a ſweet bargain, and more than turn'd her tayl upon you? With what zeal and courage have you aſſerted its Liberty from the bondage of *Imprimaturs* and the Inquiſition of Prelates? What ſtiff and ſtubborn Homilies have you made to make it good that the ſuppreſſion of a good Libel is *no leſs than Martyrdom, and if it extend to the whole Impreſſion a kind of Maſſacre, whereof the Execution ends not in the ſlaying of an Elemental Life, but ſtrikes at that ethereal and fifth eſſence, the breath of Reaſon it ſelf, ſlays an Immortality rather than a Life?* Such fuſtian bumbaſt as this paſt for ſtately wit and ſence in that Age of politeneſs and reformation. Have you ſuffer'd Baniſhment and Perſecution together; has the Engine been content to wander with ſo mean a fellow as *Newman* the Cobler through almoſt

Areo pag Pag. 4.

moſt all Counties of the Kingdome for the ſake of publiſhing ſeditious and abuſive Pamphlets; has it drawn your ſelves and your *un-crif-croſſ'd* Letters into ſeditious words and meetings? and then (vilain as it is!) does it turn informer? and when you had thought you had confidence enough to outbrazen all accuſations by word of mouth, & to forſwear your own moſt avowed Principles and moſt notorious practices, what a ſurpriſing trepan is this, that this perfidious and apoſtate Engine ſhould betray all, and produce your own Writings and Records againſt your ſelves? What think you now of a publick Tooth-drawer to wrench out its old ugly rotten teeth? there is no outfacing this printed black and white, and nothing could be more raſhly and indiſcreetly done than for you to attempt it. You had been a prudent man indeed, had you applyed your ſelf to *J. O.* and the reſt of your good maſters that ſet you on work, and pay'd you your wages, and told them plainly, Gentlemen you engage at ſuch mighty diſadvantage on that ſide of the queſtion that you have hitherto undertaken, that it is not poſſible for humane confidence to defend your cauſe. Burn therefore all your

old

old Puritan books, wheel about to the opinion of the Church of *England*, and force them to wheel about to yours, and then if you your ſelves will but ſtand ſtoutly to it for face and conſcience let Crop alone. But now when you have done this of your own head, and without any of their Commiſſion; you have as it falls out, only betrayed their cauſe and your own ignorance, to croſs thus awkerdly with their great and maſter-principle. And this, as it happens, proves at laſt the moſt pleaſant ſcene of all your folly (though you have blunder'd ſo ſhamefully in every thing you have offer'd at) for as if you had long owed your ſelf a ſhame and were now reſolved to pay off all Arrears with Intereſt, in the very ſame unhappy Paragraph where you deny it with ſo much reſentment and indignation in the name of all the Nonconformiſts in the known and habitable parts of the Earth, that to inſtitute new ſigns in the worſhip of God is to inſtitute new Sacraments, you are (ſo unhappy are you) wonderfully enamoured of that pertinent paſſage directly to the contrary cited out of St. *Auſtins* ten Volumes by *J. O. Signa cum ad res divinas pertinent, ſunt ſacramenta*, (ſo his

M S. reads it, though in your own and all other printed Copies it is read *Sacramenta appellantur.*) Now by this *J. O.* without doubt intended to prove (as he immediately ſubjoyns) that theſe things are real Sacraments or pretend to be ſo fully and effectually to all intents and purpoſes; could any man then that were not bewitch'd or bereft of his Underſtanding, be ſo raviſhingly taken with this little ſcrap as you are, if he were not ſeriouſly of *J. O's* mind, that our ſymbolical Ceremonies are Sacraments indeed? And yet this ignorance (as wretched as it is in it ſelf) is ſadly aggravated, if we conſider from how ſmall advantage and to what little purpoſe you have raiſed all this noiſe and triumph. For *J. O.* having (as you confeſs) forgot to quote Book and Page, I thought my ſelf under no indiſpenſable engagement to examine its truth or regard its Authority, and therefore vouchſafed it no other anſwer than to tell him that it was neither civil nor ingenuous to trouble me or any man elſe with ſuch objections as could not be anſwer'd without reading over eight or ten large Volumes in Folio. No man is bound by the Laws either of duel or diſputation (as you know and no

man

man better) to ſupply his enemies defects, ſo that if *J. O.* forgot book and page, all the World will throw all the blame upon him alone; and yet here (after the manner of your modeſty) you crow and inſult over me as a timorous and cowardly Craven, that was glad of any excuſe to ſhift or eſcape the challenge, though I am confident no wight living could have had the confidence to do it beſide your ſelf; for ſay what you will, it is too unreaſonable to expect that I ſhould ſearch ten Voluminous Tomes for one line, only becauſe *J. O.* either did not or could not quote Book and Page. Yes, but I could not poſſibly miſs ſo remarkable a paſſage, *when it was ſo dirtied with the Non-conformiſts Thumbs.* But that is more than I knew or could be obliged to know before; and this is the firſt time that ever I heard of ſuch familiar acquaintance between the Fathers and the Non conformiſts, however I read them not either with their Gloſſes or their Spectacles, at leaſt I find none of their dirty Thumb nails in my Patron's Library. Who but ſuch a Wit as you could put himſelf into ſo good humour with ſo ſmall taplaſh as this? But yet if *I will promiſe not to laugh at you, you will tell me in the ſimplicity of* Pag. 212. Ibid.

your heart, where even you your own ſelf have met with it, *viz. Ep. quintâ ad Marcellinum.* And becauſe you profeſs to do it in the ſimplicity of your heart, for once, if I can refrain at ſo unhappy a blunder, I will not laugh, no, you rather deſerve to be ſcourged for ſo groſs and impudent a falſhood; for it is undeniably plain from your own Quotation, that you never read it in St. *Auſtin* himſelf, but either *J. O.* or ſome other ſecret friend tranſcribed it to your hands, and ſo have unwarily impoſed upon your ignorance a fifth Epiſtle to *Marcellinus*, whereas (as Fortune would have it) the fourth is the laſt that ever he writ to him, and that which you quote for the fifth is the firſt. But had they been as careful to prevent your miſtake as they ought to have been either for your or their own credit, they ought to have ſet it down thus, *Ad Marcellinum:* and then have added *Epiſtola Quinta*, *i. e.* the fifth Epiſtle in order as they are placed in *Eraſmus*'s Edition; but when you quote *Epiſtola Quinta ad Marcellinum*, you need not have inform'd us that you did it in the ſimplicity of your heart; tho' when you add that you have done this out of your own reading, you betray ſomething elſe beſide your ſimplicity.

city. And whereas you profeſs that you have taken all this pains to ſave me a labour, I do not ſee but you have left me as much to ſeek as *J. O.* did, unleſs you had ſet down not only Book and Page but Tome and Edition; for otherwiſe after all the directions you have given me, and your Author gave you, there is no remedy but I muſt be forc'd to turn over all St. *Auſtins* Works, to find out his Epiſtle to *Marcellinus*, and that had been a pretty task of it ſelf, but if I had ſearched after the fifth Epiſtle to *Marcellinus* I might have pored till the day of Judgment: ſo that it was great Fortune that I at firſt light upon the Edition of *Eraſmus*, where the firſt Epiſtle to *Marcellinus* happens to be the fifth of that Tome. But now after all to requite your kindneſs (I mean your good will) I care not though I confeſs to you in private, that I was not ignorant of the paſſage it ſelf, not that I have ever read it in St. *Auſtin*, or obſerved it dirtied with the Thumbs of the Non-conformiſts, but I remembred that it was much teaſed and bandied up and down by the School-men in their taplaſh diſputes upon Sacraments and Sacramentals, yet I ſhifted it off upon himſelf to find out his own Quotati-

on, becauſe I knew either that he had pick'd it up at all adventure, or if he had not, then (which is ſomewhat worſe) that himſelf knew it to be both falſe and impertinent. And I did not think it worth while (as I then declared) to trouble the World with too induſtrious a gleaning of all his impertinencies after ſo plentiful an harveſt, but now thoſe little Miſadventures that I then refuſed to proſecute for their triflingneſs, I am forced to expoſe only to ſtifle your more daring and unlearned Clamours. In ſhort then *J. O.* had made very bold with his Text, as he always does for his own convenience, and confidently read *ſunt Sacramenta* inſtead of *appellantur Sacramenta*; a good reaſonable emprovement of the Fathers words, and becoming the modeſty of the man. And now have you not raiſed this great noiſe upon this little Quotation to very wiſe purpoſe, when all you gain by it is only to diſcover that your friend has groſly prevaricated? This might have been your anſwer had the Quotation ſerved at all for your purpoſe, as it does not; for St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks not there of the Inſtitution of ſigns in general, but only of ſuch as are eſtabliſh'd by Divine Authority, and 'tis theſe and

none

none but theſe that he ſayes become Sacraments of Religion by vertue of their inſtitution. For the plain deſign and occaſion of his diſcourſe was this: *Marcellinus* had been diſputing with ſome body in defence of the Chriſtian Faith (as there are in all Ages a ſort of little conceited Folk, that have no other way to paſs themſelves for wits than by picking up Quarrels againſt Religion.) His Adverſary objects to him, that if the Jewiſh Sacrifices were at firſt well and wiſely inſtituted, they ought never to have been aboliſht; if they were not, that then it is certain they were never inſtituted by Divine Authority. For a ſatisfactory Anſwer to this difficulty he writes to St. *Auſtin*, who flatly denies the conſequence, becauſe all ſacrifices are of the nature of Sacraments, and all Sacraments are poſitive and arbitrary pledges of ſome entercourſe between God and his Creatures, and ſo are in their own nature capable of change and variety, becauſe their goodneſs and uſefulneſs is not intrinſick, but depends purely upon their inſtitution. So plainly does the good Father make Divine Inſtitution, and nothing but that neceſſary to erect the office, and confer the dignity

of a Sacrament. Who then beſide *J. O.* could have been ſo unhappy as to preſs this paſſage to vouch that all ſigns whatſoever any way appointed and uſed in Divine Worſhip without Divine Inſtitution are and muſt be Sacraments? I know no man more unfortunate in every thing he meddles with unleſs your ſelf, for though you flatly deny (what he poſitively affirms) that the Symbols of our Church are really of a Sacramental Nature, yet are you fond of this Quotation that can prove nothing elſe but that they muſt be ſo. But (proceed you) not content to affront the Holy Fathers, I defie the learned School-men too, and that
Pag. 213. notwithſtanding *I had before owned them for the Authours of the Church of Englands Divinity.* Bravely ſworn Crop! after this rate ſuch pleaſant company as you can never want for proofs; and though this is no flower of the Sun, yet I am ſure it is ſomething that juſtly deſerves to be call'd a Rapper. I make theſe budgefellows the Patrons of our Church! no, I ever thought them (ſince I underſtood them) the greateſt enemies of Chriſtendom next to the Great Turk of *Genevah.* It is theſe that are your implacable Divines, your Jewiſh Zealots, your Guelphs and

and Gibellines, that are alwayes ſtabbing one another with their *Obs* and *Sols*; and though I do not remember that they were wont very much to frequent Gaming Ordinaries, yet were they the greateſt players of their age at puſh-pin and picquet, though they were not ſo venturous as alwayes to ſtake pieces, that is for Dignitaries and Jack-Gentlemen; but they were true Gameſters that loved play for play ſake, and the delight they took in wrangling, and to that purpoſe ranged themſelves into ſeveral Factions, only to exerciſe their wit in diſpute and contradiction. So that the School-men in general, that were ſo divided in all points among themſelves, could not be the Authours of the Church of *Englands* Divinity; and therefore if it deſcended from theſe Doctors of the Game, it muſt have been from ſome particular *Caſt* or Family, as of the Thomiſts or Scotiſts, the Nominals or Reals, *&c.* for they are branch'd into as many diviſions and ſubdiviſions as a Jewiſh Genealogy, or the Millecantons of Fanatiques. Now I doubt it will be found upon enquiry, that the deſign of the Church of *England* in her Reformation was to caſheir all theſe Scholaſtick Innovations, and to retrieve the

the Old and Apoſtolical Chriſtianity; and that the plat-form ſhe propounded for her direction were not the deciſions of the Schools, but the Holy Scriptures, and the four firſt general Councils. And therefore (as confident as you would ſeem to be in ſo courſe an untruth) I ſhall never be perſwaded that I could ever be ſo far overſeen as to make theſe brawling and contentious People the founders of the Doctrines and Articles of our Church. Who is able to deal with a man that is able to invent at ſo brave a rate? But farther yet, I did not put any direct ſlight upon the Authority of the Schoolmen, I only rejected *J. O's* quotation out of them for the ſame reaſon that I did that out of St. *Auſtin*, in that he was ſo far from vouchſafing a particular reference to Book, Chapter and Page, that he did not ſo much as deign to name any particular Author, no not ſo much as a particular Sect. Now I do verily believe there are very nigh a thouſand great Books of Scholaſtick Divinity in the world, and then no man, I trow, could think it reaſonable that I ſhould ſift ſo many heaps of rubbiſh only to examine *J. O's* integrity in a matter of ſuch trivial concernment; eſpecially when I was ſo fully

fully ſatisfied of it at much ſmaller pains. And though it is a long time ſince I converſed with the School-men, yet for all that I dare lay your own odds (it is the beſt argument in impudent caſes) that there is no ſuch idle ſubtilty in all their writings as this that *J. O.* has caſt upon them, *viz. where words are ſigns of ſacred things, they are ſigns of them as things but not as ſacred*; for though I have no great opinion of their wiſdom, yet I cannot believe them ſo palpably fooliſh. Though if any of them were ſo, I have already ſent them their Anſwer by *J. O.* But here methinks you your ſelf after you have forſaken your Friends, and renounced their Cauſe, grow more nice and abſtractive than theſe great Doctors of ſubtilty themſelves, whilſt you tell us, that though theſe Ceremonies are no Sacraments, *yet are they ſo applyed as if they were of a Sacramental Nature and Inſtitution, and that therefore they are unlawful.* Pag. 210. If you mean that they are ſo applyed by the Church of *England* as if they were of Divine Inſtitution, you mean impudently; if you mean any thing elſe, you mean nothing. Yes, *but they are impoſed with ſo high a penalty, as that they want nothing of a Sacramental Nature but Divine Inſtitution.* Pag. 218.

tution. That is to ſay, 1. That they want nothing of a Sacramental Nature, but a Sacramental Nature. 2. This is no more than what may be objected againſt all Laws and proviſions of decency whatſoever, that have and muſt have a penalty annexed to them to enforce their Obligation. 3. This ſtarts new Controverſies, that were never ſo much as thought upon by the School-men themſelves, *viz.* 1. Whether to impoſe any thing that is in it ſelf no Sacrament under an high penalty be to make it an *as it were* a Sacrament; and then 2. Whether it be unlawful for any Humane Authority to inſtitute *as it were* Sacraments. Theſe are weighty Controverſies, and will no doubt at the day of judgement bear out all the enormities of Schiſm and Rebellion. And now if any man can play the fool at ſmaller Game than you have done, puſh-pin is too high for him, he is fit for no other employment than to catch ſhadows and Jackalents, for though they are meer nothings, yet to Children they appear *as it were* ſomething.

But the great thunderclap is ſtill behind, for whereas I concluded that the Magiſtrates Power of inſtituting ſignificant Ceremonies could be no more uſur-

pation

pation upon the conſciences of men, than if the Sovereign Authority ſhould take upon it ſelf to define the ſignification of words, little ſuſpecting any dangerous Plot againſt the State could have lurkt it ſelf under ſuch a well-meant and (as I thought in the ſimplicity of my heart) ſuch an harmleſs ſuppoſition as this, that a Sovereign Prince might, if he pleaſed, refine and alter the language of his Subjects without offering any violence to their Conſciences. But upon this your blood riſes, and your zeal kindles, and you thunder and lighten as if I had ſhaken the pillars of the Earth, and of the Government, and blown up the fundamental Liberties and Priviledges of the Subject. Princes have Power over the ſignification of words! Heavens forbid! *Such a penetration or tranſubſtantiation of language would throw all into Rebellion and Anarchy, would ſhake the Crowns of all Princes, and reduce the world into a ſecond Babel.* This would deſtroy all the Records in the Tower, and Magna Charta, and the Act of Oblivion and Indempnity, and divide the whole Kingdom into Guelphs and Gibellines. Sure, the young man is ſeiſed with a fit of *Lycanthropy*, and will certainly run a Muck before

Pag. 231.

before next Full Moon; this is a madder attempt than that of digging through the ſeparating *Iſtmos* of *Peloponeſus*, or making a Communication between the *Red-Sea* and the *Mediterranean*; verily it is like continuing a ſtreight line till it becomes a circle. So ignorant are theſe implacable Divines of the true Idea of
Pag. 301. Wiſdom and State Policy. *And if there be any Council more precipitate, more violent, more rigorous, more extreme than other, that is theirs.* They never conſider to what woful ſtraits the great *Sancho* reduced his Government by uſurping to himſelf the Empire of Proverbs and Apothegms. Nor how *even Auguſtus Cæſar,*
Pag. 230. *though he was ſo great an Emperour and ſo valiant a man in his own Perſon was uſed to fly from a new word, though it were ſingle, as ſtudiouſly as a Mariner would avoid a Rock for fear of ſplitting.* Is not this one of *Bayes*'s ſimile's, that was made before you had thought how to apply it? The Emperour avoid a new word as a Mariner does a Rock for fear of ſplitting! If it had been an hard word, it might have born a quibble, but ſure that a new word ſhould be able to ſplit ſo great an Emperour, is very ſtrange, unleſs it were very ridiculous; and any thing would

have

have ſerved the turn as well as the Mariner. As a Coward ſhifts a challenge for fear of being beaten, as a Child avoids a Waſps neſt for fear of being ſtung, as a Mouſe does a Cat, or a Thief does the Gallows, or as any thing does any thing, for there is nothing but is afraid of ſomething. Ay, but young man this is too ſerious a thing to be jeſted with, what! muſt you be flouting at the Emperour *Auguſtus* as well as Doomſ-day and Queen *Elizabeth*? When you name *Auguſtus*, let me tell you, as I have elſewhere upon the bare mention of *Sardanapalus*, that though *I would not willingly be ſuch a fool, as to make a dangerous ſimilitude that has no foundation*, yet it is manifeſt that ſome body elſe is intended, for he was a Prince, and his Father was murder'd too; and *every ſimilitude muſt have though not all yet ſome likeneſs*; So that whenever you ſpeak any ill thing of *Auguſtus*, or *Julian*, or *Sardanapalus*, or any other of your uncontroulable Creatures, we know your meaning, and who it is you aim at. And thus by this ridiculous way of forcing a myſtical ſenſe out of my words do you take leave to dart ſuch impudent and ignominious reflections upon your Superiours, as are not to be expiated by whipping

Pag. 148.

Ibid.

ping posts and Pillories. But now it is no wonder to see you every where as angry at Roman Empire as at Ecclesiastical Policy; for that too is perpetually selling you bargains. Would you but tell me in the simplicity of your heart where you your own self read this story of *Augustus*; I am confident it was either in the second Decad of *T. Livius* or the fifth Epistle to *Marcellinus*. For Sir, whoever imposed here too upon your ignorance, assure your self there is no such saying of *Augustus* upon record in Roman story. But to deal plainly with you and undeceive you, this passage is father'd upon one *Julius Cæsar*, *That was a lover of elegancy of stile, and could endure no mans Tautologies but his own.* And yet nothing could distast him more than an affected and phantastick word, he would have turn'd a man out of his Secretaries Office for such language as this, *Lycanthropy, Trincling, Disvalising, Pick-thankness, ornaments of Deformity, unhoopable Jurisdiction, &c.* and would sooner have split than have been so pedantick himself. The passage I speak of is a certain fragment of a lost Book that he writ *de Analogiâ*, cited by *Agellius l.* 1. *c.* 10. and *Macrob. l.* 1. *Saturn. c.* 5. *Habe semper in memoriâ*

memoriâ atque in pectore, ut tanquam ſcopulum ſic fugias inauditum atque inſolens verbum. A round and well couch'd period as it is here expreſſed, though as you have tranſlated it, nothing can be more flat and inſipid, *fugias tanquam ſcopulum*, i. e. *fly from it as ſtudiouſly as a Mariner would avoid a Rock for fear of ſplitting.* Your way of tranſlating is not *like fat Sir John Falſtaff's ſingular dexterity in ſinking.* Even thus *Perſonam induere* ſignifies to put on the perſon of, and to put on the perſon of ſignifies to act a part in a Play; ſo that if our Saviour did *Perſonam induere*, or *put on the perſon of* a Jewiſh Zealot, it follows, that he was a Player as well as a Cut-throat. You have truanted ſo long about *Charing-Croſs* and *Lincolns-inn-fields*, that you have forgot all your Latin. Go you old dunce to your Phraſe Book, and there learn the ſignification of *Perſonam induere.* But what if *J. Cæſar* avoided the affectation of a new word as he would a ſplitting rock, it was not out of any reaſon of State, or for fear of raiſing Tumults and Rebellions, but purely out of that averſation that ſo great a Wit as he could not but have to pedantry; ſo that this ſtory is calculated for the uſe of School-maſters, and not of

Kings, and by conſequence might have been ſpared here. But you proceed, Come, come young man forbear your mirth and mockery, aſſure your ſelf this Dominion of words is a dangerous thing. How many millions of men did it coſt your Roman Empire to attain it, did you never read the ſad ſtories how many
Pag. 230. childleſs Mothers were made at *Languedoc* by the difference between *Faves* and *Haves* at one time, and at another between *Crabe* and *Crabre*, with many other bloody tales that might be enlarged upon, if one would be *learnedly impertinent*?
Ibid. And do you think you have not all this while been unlearnedly ſo, to hunt up all theſe impertinent ſtories to no imaginable purpoſe, unleſs it be to warn Kings not to provoke their good Subjects to Rebellion for every trifle,
Pag. 243. *but to condeſcend to them for peace-ſake, and the quiet of mankind*? For you are admirably skill'd, no man better, in the Hiſtory of Revolts and Seditions, and Princes are obliged to con you thanks for the pains you have taken to mind them of all the ſlight cauſes and pretences that have been ſeiſed on by wanton and ſtomachful Rebels, that they may beware of the like provocations, leſt they

meet

meet with the like events. And theſe idle ſtories you are continually preaching in the ears of Princes, but not a ſyllable of advice or exhortation to Subjects to perſwade them to a modeſt and peaceable behaviour towards their Superiours. No, though Kings, and men of Courtly breeding and great Quality have or ought to have ſo much manners and civility, *as to condeſcend to their Inferiours, and if one have got a cold to force them to be cover'd, or if a man have an antipathy againſt any thing, to be ſo civil as to refrain the uſe of it, however not to preſs it upon the Perſon*, with many more pretty reſemblances, though (as you inform us) *there is no end of ſimilitudes*, and as you employ them no uſe neither. But alas! ſuch mannerlineſs as this is not to be expected from men of private condition and breeding, and if His Majeſty be pleaſed to ſtand cap in hand to a high-ſhoon Clown, though he have a cold, who can blame the Boor if he have not ſo much Courtſhip and Ceremony, as graciouſly to deſire his worſhip to put on? The Common People are to be pardoned their rudeneſs for their want of education: and if at any time they behave themſelves ſtubbornly and ſawcily to Pag. 241.

their Superiours, they will out of diſcretion connive at their infirmities, and out of common humanity yield to their follies. But no wiſe Prince will ever by unneceſſary impoſitions diſoblige his good Subjects, and force them to rebellious practices for a trifle or an uncivil word. And what a lump of Hiſtory have you here preſented to Kings to terrifie them from making too bold, and being too ſawcy with their people, *Pag.* 244, 5, 6? And if we take away ſome ſimpering phraſes, and timorous introductions, your Collection will afford as good Precedents for Rebellion and King-killing, as any we meet with in the writings of *J. M.* in defence of the Rebellion and the Murther of the King. But that which moſt of all betrayes the wretchedneſs of your deſign, is, that you throughout either miſreport or equivocate ſo elaborately, that you cannot but be fully convinced within your ſelf that you have forged Relations to no other purpoſe than to repreſent the weakneſs of Government, and the feaſibleneſs of Rebellion as we ſhall have occaſion to examine hereafter; in the mean while be your idle ſtories never ſo falſe, they are much more impertinent. For, what if wiſe

Kings

Kings be taught by theſe examples to condeſcend to their Inferiours, and to connive at the infirmities (*i.e.* ſeditious ſpirits) of their people for fear of daggers and revolts? What if it be as dangerous for a Prince *to take a man by the tongue, as a Bear by the tooth?* What if bloody wars have been occaſion'd by the difference of an accent or a ſyllable? And a letter in the name of Beans and Goats have ſet a whole Province together by the ears? And what if Empires have been ſhipwrackt upon a new word as Mariners ſplit upon a rock? This only proves that it is an unwiſe and impolitick attempt to hazard a Crown out of fondneſs to an affected word. And though it may be an uſurpation upon the Peoples Liberties, yet certainly it is none upon their Conſciences, if the Sovereign Authority will take upon it ſelf to define the ſignification of an uncertain and ambiguous phraſe. And that is the parallel of our Caſe, *viz.* That whereas theſe men have from time to time and at all times raiſed ſuch prodigious yells and clamours of Conſcience againſt the determination of ſignificant Ceremonies, 'tis enough to ſhew that their ſignification is of the very ſame uſe and nature with that of words;

ſo that people have no more ground of offence upon the ſcore of Conſcience againſt that than this. And yet no mans Conſcience howſoever tender or peeviſh can ever pretend to be aggrieved with defining the ſignification of a doubtful word; and if it cannot, then has he as little ground upon that pretence to complain of the determination of any ſignificant Ceremony. Though if the change of words may be of dangerous conſequence to the Government of the State, that is a conſideration of another nature, and that concerns not my Analogy between words and ſymbols, that are in this debate to be conſider'd only as matters of Conſcience and not of Policy. So that if a new and unprecidented word do not endanger the ſhipwracking of a mans Conſcience, that is enough to evince that neither is a new Ceremony a more ſplitting rock than a new word; and if this may prove miſchievous upon other ſcores, *viz.* that it would render all Laws uncertain, that it would defeat the Act of Oblivion, that it would ſpoil the Declaration of Indulgence to tender Conſciences, and throw all back again into Anarchy and Rebellion: Yet what is all this to the ſignification of Ceremonies,

that

that may be alter'd ten thouſand different ways without making any alteration of the Laws? So that howſoever impracticable and of whatſoever ill conſequence the impoſition of words may ſometimes prove, there is not the leaſt ſhadow of ground from thence to conclude (as you do) that of Ceremonies to be no leſs pernicious. And this I hope is enough to prove that you have been ſufficiently impertinent, though how learnedly you have been ſo I ſuppoſe needs no proof. And yet after all this aſtoniſhment (if it were to any purpoſe) this very power of defining and circumſcribing the ſignification of words, that you fancy ſo ſplitting a rock, has ever been uſed and chalenged by all Law-givers as an eſſential ingredient of the Soveraign Power, in that without it, it is very difficult if not altogether impoſſible to avoid ambiguity of Laws. A man of your humour that had a mind to be *learnedly impertinent* might heap up innumerable inſtances to this purpoſe. But if you have either will or leaſure to conſult the Civil Law, *Lib.* 50. *Digeſt. Tit.* 16. *de verborum ſignificatione*, you will there meet with three or four hundred particular examples. I ſhall only trouble you that are or may be an

Engliſh Senator with two or three out of our own Laws. The firſt occurrs in an Act of Parliament *Primo Eliz.* for the Uniformity of Common-Prayer and Service in the Church, and adminiſtration of Sacraments, where it being enacted that the Book of Common-Prayer and no other form ſhall be uſed at all *open Prayer*, the Act it ſelf fixes and defines the meaning of *open Prayer*, *viz.* that by it *is meant that Prayer, which is for others to come unto or hear, either in common Churches or private Chappels or Oratories, commonly call'd the ſervice of the Church.* And in another Act (as I take it) of the ſame year it is poſitively defined that no matter or cauſe ſhall from that time forward be adjudged Hereſie, *but only ſuch as heretofore have been adjudged to be Hereſie by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures or by the firſt four general Councils, or by any other general Council, where the ſame has been declared Hereſie by the expreſs and plain words of the ſaid Canonical ſcriptures, or ſuch as hereafter ſhall be adjudged Hereſie by the high Court of Parliament of this Realm, with the aſſent of Clergy in their Convocation.* And within our own memory there have happened Caſes in which the Parliament have ventured to

define

define not only the ſignification of words but the nature of things, as you know they determin'd not long ſince without adviſing with the Royal Society that Brandee belongs properly and formally to the ſpecifick Eſſence of Spirits. So that it ſeems this Power has ſometimes been reduced to practice without throwing all into Rebellion and Anarchy, and ſhaking the Crowns of Princes, and reducing the World into a ſecond *Babel*. Though ſuch an exorbitant and arbitrary exerciſe of it, as was chalenged by your Preſbyterian Long Parliament, was enough to diſſolve all Governments and break up all ſocieties in the World. For they had the impudence to impoſe ſuch bold meanings upon words as flatly contradicted their common and cuſtomary ſignification. Thus could they make ſuch ſentences to be juſt and legal as were not fit to paſs into Precedent in the like caſes, that is to ſay ſuch as themſelves confeſſ'd by their own proviſion to be unjuſt and illegal; in that there can be no hurt or danger in lawful Preſcriptions. Thus could they make a new and unheard-of ſort of Treaſon call'd cumulative Treaſon, that is a great many no Treaſons to make up a Treaſon. Thus a

Delinquent

Delinquent ſignified any man that they had a mind to cut off for his Loyalty; and thus to make open preparations for Rebellion was to put the Kingdom into a poſture of defence againſt all the Kings enemies whether foreign or domeſtick, *i. e.* againſt the King himſelf and all his friends and Allies. But the diſmal Calamities and Earthquakes that followed thereupon were the Conſequences of the abuſe of this Power, not of the Power it ſelf, and ſo all Power of what kind ſoever if ſtretch'd to the ſame degrees of Tyranny, is as naturally productive of the ſame effects of Confuſion.

And now after all theſe nice and ſtubborn ſpeculations about the abſtracted and metaphyſical Idea of ſymbolicalneſs, and after the Champions of your cauſe have for ſo long a time kept up this Ball or rather Bubble of Contention, even from *Cartwright* down ſucceſſively to the preſent Age, you would like a cunning Rook turn the Tables upon us, and charge us as the Aggreſſours in this ridiculous diſpute, *i. e.* after you have played the Children ſo long with this hard word that ſignifies nothing, and now too late perceive your folly in raiſing ſuch an inveterate and implacable War upon ſuch a

ſlender

ſlender pretence, you would (juſt as you dealt with his late Majeſty, when you rebell'd againſt him) lay the War at our doors, and upbraid us as if we had made all this ſtir about this wretched trifle, as if it were our Sir *Solomons* ſword, our dead-doing Tool wherewith we flatter our ſelves to have done ſo much execution upon the Puritan Cauſe, and as if I my ſelf *had ſet up this hard word on purpoſe to be my Opponent.* And thus would you cunningly ſlide your own wooden Dagger into our hands, when it is manifeſt that we are altogether on the defenſive part, and are ſo far from uſing any weapons of offence, that we never ſo much as employed a Shield to ward off your Thruſts, but have always put them by with neglect or a mere denial, and have ſcorn'd and pityed your ſimplicity in laying at us ſo fiercely with ſuch a wooden tool. The Church of *England* was never ſo idlely employed as to concern it ſelf to determine the nature of Symbolical Ceremonies, whether it be Sacramental or not. It has indeed defined the number of ſuch Sacraments as are neceſſary to Salvation, that is to ſay ſuch as are inſtituted by Divine Authority as the perpetual Pledges and Symbols of the Chriſti-

Pag. 214.

an

an Faith. And if men have a mind to any more Sacraments, they may for her have as many as they pleaſe, provided they pretend not to Divine Inſtitution. And whereas you often inſult upon ſome great Prelate that (you ſay) wrote a book of ſeven Sacraments, (though there was never any ſuch book written,) he might if he had nothing elſe to do have written one of ſeven hundred, for there is nothing in nature that may not in the Puritan notion be applied to a Sacramental uſe, *i. e.* be appointed as a pledge and ſignification of ſomething or other. Keep then your impertinencies to your ſelves, you ſhall not pin them upon our ſleeves, and when you have worn this fools Coat ſo long till you have worn it threadbare, think not that we will then ſuffer you to put it upon our backs. Neither tell me of ſetting up an hard word for my Opponent, when it is your own ſcarcrow; and withall ſuch a deſpicable and woful pretence, that at laſt I ſcorn'd to diſpute againſt it, I only deſpiſed its intolerable fillineſs, and expoſed it to the contempt of your own Herd; It is below the ſeriouſneſs of an argument. And if it be an hard word that ſignifies nothing, blame not me for mumbling and mouſling it till

I have made it contemptible, for it is your own, and you know I was ſo little fond of it, that I offer'd to exchange it for *Syncategorematical*, becauſe it is more frightful by three or four ſyllables, and rattles through the throat with a bigger and more terrible accent, and any other hard word that ſounds bravely, and ſignifies nothing and that no body underſtands, would ſerve the turn as well, and I am content (if you are) hereafter to call them by common conſent either flying Dragons or Uſinulca's. Keep your Goblin-nonſenſe to your ſelves, we have nothing to do with it but to deſpiſe your folly. And if it be Taplaſh (as you call it) it is of your own brewing, and is both the firſt and the laſt running of your brains, but hereafter let us hear no more of it for ſhame, ſuch thin and ſpiritleſs ſtuff as this, as it is not worth keeping, ſo it can never hold tilting.

And now upon review of this whole matter it is well worth our obſervation how the ſtate of the queſtion is changed with the ſtate of affairs; The controverſie is not now (as it has been heretofore) between the holy Diſcipline and the eſtabliſht Government of the Church of *England*, that conteſt has put an end to it

it ſelf; but whether men of rebellious ſpirits, and Democratical Principles ſhall under counterfeit ſhews of tenderneſs of Conſcience be ſuffer'd to work the Common People into a diſaffection to the Government. For it is notorious that the moſt zealous Agents and Patrons of the Cauſe are ſo far from being ſeriouſly ſcared with their own pretended ſcruples, that they have given the world too many undeniable proofs of their being above the moſt avowed Principles of Juſtice and common honeſty; and withall that they have been and ſtill are (for any evidence they have given to the contrary) the moſt vehement and implacable enemies to the preſent Government; and therefore being ſtorm'd and beaten out of all their old pleas of a Divine Right, are forced to abuſe the people (that may be abuſed with any thing or nothing) with ſuch grounds of ſedition as are not to be removed by all the Wiſdome and Power in the world. It were to ſome purpoſe if to all their noiſe about Conſcience in general, they could aſſign any principle to juſtifie their clamour beſide printing it emphatically and in great letters; but when every man that underſtands common ſenſe or an hard word ſees

through

through the vanity and idleneſs of all their Cavils, what greater aſſurance can they give us that there is ſome other deſign lies lurking at the bottom, that they dare not own, till ſome ſeaſonable and propitious juncture of affairs ſhall invite it forth into open action? In ſhort, their whole Controverſie with the Church of *England* lies in ſo narrow a compaſs, and the exceptions wherewith they aſſault our preſent ſettlement are ſo ſhamefully frivolous, that to me it is one of the greateſt riddles in the world, where they ſhould find confidence enough to bear up thus long in ſuch a deſperate Cauſe. For as to their general pretence againſt the power of Princes in matters of Religion, as if they thereby invaded Gods own Prerogative, they in many caſes forgo it themſelves, and acknowledge it ſometimes neceſſary to the publique peace to reſtrain by force of Law ſome Sects and pretences of Religion; and though they grant it but in one caſe, as in the Laws againſt Popery, or in proviſions againſt the attempts of Prince *Vennor* and his forty men, that overthrows the whole force of this Argument, in that it allows the exerciſe of this Power without entrenching upon Gods peculiar Royalty.

And

And then have they nothing to plead but the peril of our eſtabliſh'd Ceremonies, and here the whole debate is plainly reduced to theſe two queſtions, whether they except againſt any but what are ſymbolical? And whether they can aſſign any that are not ſo? And if they cannot (as it is plain they cannot) what follows every body ſees as well as I. So that when they pitch upon ſuch grounds of diſcontent, as they themſelves know no Government can avoid, it is manifeſt that all this pretended niceneſs is only made uſe of to diſguiſe ſomething worſe. And if they would clear their integrity to the State, or at leaſt hide their hypocriſie under more paſſable and likely vizards, they would do well to invent ſome more material ſcruples, for which they crave their Gracious Indulgences; but till then, whilſt they keep up ſuch clamorous and importunate demands of Toleration, though no body knows for what, they only give their Governours fair warning to beware of the malignity of their intentions. This I hope they will conſider of themſelves, or if they will not, that ſome body elſe will do it for them.

And now methinks (Sir) after all your fury

fury you are as reasonable an Adversary (would you were as modest and civil too) as a man could lightly expect to encounter; so meek and gentle as to turn both cheeks to correction, and to accept of being boxt on both sides, for now I hope you your self see there is not one Paragraph in all your Libell, that pretends to be serious and argumentative, that is not notoriously both false and impertinent. And that is too much advantage in such a trifling engagement, for it is scarce worth any mans while to spend so many words as are necessary to discover both, when it is to no other purpose than to correct one mans pert and conceited ignorance. But from the Premises 'tis manifest that the Body of your whole Book consists of these three sorts of Materials, 1. Your impudent repetition of the same enormous pervertings and falsifications, for which I thought I had sufficiently convicted *J. O.* of boldness and disingenuity. And this takes in the Grand Thesis, the six Playes, and the Hoops and Hola's. 2. Your stubborn adherence to the same dull and childish Cavils, which I refused to rebuke in him because of their manifest trifling and vanity; as in the charge of Erastianism, per-

verſe tranſlations of the Scriptures and falſe Quotations of Authours. 3. Your ſtarting ſome new Abſurdities of your own ſo wild and extravagant, that never any man before your ſelf was frantick enough to believe or aſſert, as in all the ſhatter'd talk of Sacraments and Symbolical Ceremonies. By all which you ſee what brave things a wiſe man may perform, and how dully a witty man may come to play the fool by being *learnedly impertinent*. As for the remainder of your Book, it is all ſuch courſe and unſerviceable rubbiſh, that it is not worth the ſifting; it is ſuch looſe and empty talk, as is as applicable to confute any other Book in the world as mine, in ſo much that I might, if it would but have recompenced the pains, have turn'd three parts of your own Pamphlet upon it ſelf. As all your profeſt fooling either by way of Similitude or Rithm or Story; your playing upon ſingle words, your confuting introductions and tranſitions, your ſmutty imaginations, your general and inſolent cenſures, with abundance more of ſuch bold and immodeſt ſtuff, that though it ſignifies nothing by it ſelf, yet is almoſt enough to beat any modeſt man out of countenance by pure force of brow

and

and confidence. But in anſwer to your Ribaldry I can only bluſh and ſay nothing; and as for your rude and uncivil language, I am willing to impute it to your firſt unhappy Education among Boat-Swains and Cabin-Boys, whoſe Phraſes as you learn'd in your Childhood, ſo it is not to be expected you ſhould ever unlearn them by your Converſation with the Bear-herds of *Barn*, the Canibals of *Geneva*, the Boys and Lackeys at *Charing-Croſs*, and in *Lincolns-Inn-fields*. But as for your bold and general cenſures, that you may not pretend that I either baulk or ſlide by any thing of weight and moment, or frown it away with bigg and burly looks, as you have dealt with ſeveral modeſt propoſitions of mine, that when you have not been able to produce one Iota of proof againſt them, yet have rated them with ſuch an haughty and magiſterial aſſurance, as if you expected to make them ſneak and ſlink away out of ſight by meer ſternneſs of look. That (I ſay) you may not complain that I pay you in your own braſs coyn, I will preſent you a brief Catalogue of your own *Drama Common places* of confidence and leaſing, and then refer it to any Jury of your own empa-

nelling whether ſuch paltry traſh can deſerve any other reply than neglect and
Pag. 320. ſcorn. " Firſt of all (ſay you) I am of-
" fended at the preſumption and arro-
" gance of your ſtile; whereas there is
" nothing either of wit or eloquence in
" all your Books, worthy of a Readers,
" and more unfit for your own taking
Pag. 321. " notice of. Then your infinite Tauto-
" logy is burdenſom. And your profa-
" nation of the Scripture intolerable, for
" though you alledge that it is only in
" order to ſhew how it was miſapplyed
" by the Fanaticks (*though I remember no*
" *ſuch Allegation*) you might have done
" that too, and yet preſerved the dig-
" nity and reverence of thoſe Sacred
" Writings, which you have not done;
" but on the contrary you have in what
" is properly your own, taken the moſt
" of all your Ornaments and Embelliſh-
" ments thence in a ſcurrilous and ſacri-
" legious ſtile (admirable ſenſe!) inſo-
" much that were it honeſt, I will under-
" take out of you to make a better, that
" is a more ridiculous and prophaner
" Book, than all the *Friendly Debates*
Pag. 191. " bound up together. I cannot but make
" uſe of this admirable way (like fat Sir
" *John Falſtaffs* ſingular dexterity in ſink-
" ing)

" ing) of anſwering whole Books or Diſ-
" courſes, how pithy and knotty ſoever,
" in a line or two, nay ſometimes in a
" word. And as the Friendly Debate is
" ridiculous and prophane, ſo I obſerve Pag. 279.
" that all the Argument of your Books
" too is but very frivolous and trivial;
" you bring nothing ſound or ſolid. For
" the excellency of your Logique, Phi- Pag. 263.
" loſophy, and Chriſtianity in all your
" Books, is either as in Conſcience, to
" take away the ſubject of the Queſtion;
" or as in the Magiſtrate, having gotten
" one Abſurdity to raiſe a thouſand more
" from it. In all your writings you do Pag. 158.
" ſo confound terms, leap croſs, have
" more doubles (nay triples and quadru-
" ples) than any Hare, ſo that you think
" your ſelf ſecure of the Hunters. You
" endeavour ſo to muddle your ſelf in Pag. 159.
" Ink, that there ſhall be no catching nor
" finding you. You ſo confound the Pag. 103.
" Queſtion with differing terms and con-
" tradictory expreſſions, that you may
" upon occaſion affirm whatſoever you
" deny, or deny whatſoever you affirm.
" You have face enough to ſay or unſay Pag. 139.
" any thing, and 'tis your priviledge,
" what the School-Divines deny to be
" within the power of the Almighty, to

Pag. 47. " make contradictions true. You neither
" know or care how to behave your ſelf
" to God or Man, and having never ſeen
" the receptacle of Grace or Conſcience
" at an Anatomical diſſection, you con-
" clude therefore that there is no ſuch
" matter, or no ſuch obligation among
" Chriſtians; you perſecute the Scripture
" it ſelf unleſs it will conform to your in-
" terpretation; you ſtrive to put the world
" into blood, and animate Princes to be
" the executioners of their own ſubjects
Pag. 156. " for well-doing. I looked further into
" what you ſay in defence of the Magi-
" ſtrates aſſuming the Prieſthood; what
" for your ſcheme of Moral Grace; what
" to palliate your irreverent expreſſions
" concerning our bleſſed Saviour, and
" the holy Spirit; what of all other mat-
" ters objected to you; and if you will
" believe me, but I had much rather the
" Reader would take the pains to exa-
" mine all himſelf, there is ſcarce any
" thing but ſlender trifling unworthy of
" a Logician, and beaſtly railing unbe-
" coming any man much more a Divine.
Pag. 66. " You diſtribute all the territories of
" Conſcience into the Princes Province,
" (*that is to divide a thing into one part*)
" and make the Hierarchy to be but Bi-
" ſhops

" ſhops of the Air, and talk at ſuch an
" extravagant rate in things of higher
" concernment (*than either Conſcience or
" Government of Church and State*) that
" the Reader will avow, that in the
" whole diſcourſe you had not one lucid
" Interval. Had you no friends to have Pag. 61.
" given you good counſel, before your
" underſtanding was quite unſetled? Real-
" ly I cannot but pity you, and look up- Pag. 163.
" on you as under ſome great diſtur-
" bance and deſpondency of mind; and
" in as ill a caſe as *Tiberius* was in his di-
" ſtracted Letter to the Senate. There
" wants nothing of it but the *Dii Deæque
" me perdant*, wiſhing let the Gods and
" Goddeſſes confound him, worſe than
" he finds himſelf to be every day con-
" founded. So all that rationally can be Pag. 70.
" gather'd from what you ſay, is that you
" are mad. You incite Princes to perſe- Pag. 185.
" cution and tyranny, degrade Grace to
" Morality, debauch Conſcience againſt
" its own Principles, diſtort and miſ-in-
" terpret the Scripture, fill the world
" with Blood, Execution and Maſſacre.
" And as for Subjects, no Pimp did ever
" enter into ſeriouſer diſputation, to vi-
" tiate an innocent Virgin, than you do
" to debauch their Conſciences. And to

" harden their unpracticed modesty, em-
" bolden them by your own example,
Pag. 28. " shewing them the experiment upon
" your own Conscience first. Nay, you
" threaten, you rail, you jear them, if it
" were possible out of all their Consci-
Pag. 215. " ences and Honesty. Really I think you
" have done the Atheists so much service
" in your Books, by your ill handling,
" and while you personate (*i. e. Personam*
" *induere*) one Party, making all Reli-
" gion ridiculous (*I mean the serious part*
" *of it*) that they will never be able to
" requite you but in the same manner.
Pag. 143. " It is true, you sometimes for fashion-
" sake speak of Religion and a Deity,
" but your Principles do necessarily, if
" not in terms, make the Princes power
" paramount to both these, and if he may
" by his uncontroulable and unlimited
" Universal Authority introduce what
" Religion, he may of consequence what
pag. 209. " Deity also he pleases. This is a faith-
" full account of the summ and intention
" of all your undertaking, for which I
" confess you were as pickt a man as
" could have been employed or found
Pag. 146. " out in a whole Kingdom. And I have
" herein endeavour'd the utmost inge-
" nuity towards you, for you have laid

" your

" your ſelf open but to too many diſad-
" vantages already, ſo that I need not,
" I would not preſs you beyond mea-
" ſure, but to my beſt underſtanding,
" and if I fail I even ask your pardon, I
" do you right. And ſo you are a dan-
" gerous Fellow *Bayes*, you are an Hypo-
" crite *Bayes*, you are a mad Prieſt
" *Bayes*, you are a Buffoon *Bayes*, you are
" an *Opprobrium Academiæ Bayes*, you are
" a *Peſtis Eccleſiæ Bayes*, Hola *Bayes*,
" whoop *Bayes*, whoop and hola *Bayes*;
" *Bayes*, *Bayes*, ay, and all that *Bayes*.
Quod erat demonſtrandum. You and I Sir have hitherto been good Friends, and if you had but told me all this in private, you had done a friendly office, and upon your advice and admonition I might have reformed all miſcarriages; but whether to blazon them abroad thus publiquely without proof or inſtance, and before you had made any tryal upon my ingenuity, whether (I ſay) it were either civilly or diſcreetly done, becauſe you are a wiſe man, and I have a great opinion of your Integrity, I ſhall refer it altogether to your own judgement. However if you or any friend of yours can really think, that ſuch Demonſtration as this needs any other Anſwer beſide being

pitied

pitied and laughed at, do but signifie your minds to me by the next Post (provided you will superscribe *Franck*) and I will promise to do you reason and give you satisfaction. This is but a taste of what I might have transcribed, in that the greatest part of your Pamphlet is manifestly rather Censure than Confutation.

But the main and most serviceable topick of impertinency is to picqueer at single words in Introductions and Transitions, and animadvert upon them with the Similitude, the Aphorism, the Rithm, the Story, and the Parenthesis; your wit is strangely fluent upon such passages as are altogether collateral to the drift and substance of my discourses: Though when you come to any thing of Argument, your mind runs upon nothing but the day of Judgment, and you grow reserved for fear of being call'd to an account for every idle word, and from hence it comes to pass that you are forced to *answer whole Books in a line or two, like fat Sir* John Falstaffs *singular dexterity in sinking*. What fearful work have you made with my Introduction to the *Preface*, you have mawl'd every word so unmercifully, as if you had undertaken

to

to pound every Period into the twenty four Letters. And had you held on as you begun with the firſt forty lines, the Book of Martyrs had been but an Almanack in compariſon to the Rehearſal.

Firſt I am caught in my own Dilemma for writing at all, after I had declared that if I muſt anſwer every impertinent exception and Cavil, I would write no more; *Now this expreſſion* (ſay you) *lies open to my own Dilemma againſt the Nonconformiſts confeſſing in their Prayers to God ſuch heinous Enormities.* This is the only paſſage that I find repeated but once more in all your book, I ſuppoſe becauſe you thought it ſo ſhrewd and preſſing, that it need not be inculcated ſo often as ſome other Remarques that were not ſo eaſie and obvious to common underſtandings. But (Sir) my promiſe was conditional, if I muſt endure the Penance of anſwering every peeviſh Caviller, and I had never broke it, had I not been abſolutely overpowred both againſt my own Judgment and inclinations to write this Reply to your ſelf. For which I heartily ask forgiveneſs, and will enter into bond, be the condition of the Obligation what you pleaſe, never to commit the ſame fault Pag. 1.

fault or need the ſame excuſe a ſecond time. But what if I had diſpenſed with a point of Civility to the publick to get an honeſt Book-ſeller (eſpecially if he be importunate too) eight or ten pound in the long vacation? It was only to give ſome encouragement to Trade, however you would calumniate me as an utter enemy to it; and though it is poſſible I may not have ſo great an opinion of the honeſty of all of this ſort of Tradeſmen, as it is poſſible I may of ſome others, *and if I fail herein, I ask their pardon, I do them right and recreate my ſelf with believing that my ſimple judgment cannot beyond my intention, abate any thing of their juſt value.* Yet however I am ſure it is a much more honourable way of Livelyhood and more ſerviceable to the Common-wealth than Gaming or any other lubberly way of ſubſiſtence. So that ſay what you will it was kindly done of me, and if I made bold with my Reader, I have made him an Apology ſubmiſſive enough to excuſe my own good nature and engage his. And what could he deſire more? If he be candid and courteous this is enough of all Conſcience to attone his diſpleaſure, if he be not, he is not concern'd, for Prefaces are addreſſ'd to

none

none but the courteous Readers. But after all this ſolemnity when all things are truly conſider'd, this is no ſuch ſerious matter as you would make ſhew of. For though Authors are wont partly becauſe it is the faſhion, and partly becauſe it is an engagement of the Readers favour (for all people love to be courted) to make them humble addreſſes and Apologies in their Prefaces, yet to ſpeak plainly 'tis more than they owe them (for if they do not like, they may let it alone) and is at beſt no more than a formal complement. So that I do not ſee but a man may break his word with his Reader without being concluded *indifferent as to* Pag. 2. *the buſineſs either of Truth or Eternity*; as you have ridiculouſly aggravated my Crime, if I had been guilty; ſuch ſwoln Hyperboles are the Cavils of ſuch people as want wiſer and more material Objections. But now is it not ſhrewdly thought on to parallel ſuch a trifle as this againſt the Non-conformiſts making ſuch conſtant and familiar Confeſſions to the Divine Majeſty of the moſt heinous and enormous Crimes, even of all that can be reckoned up, Diſloyalty and Rebellion only excepted, and that no doubt out of pure reſpect to his Majeſties Act of

Oblivion

Oblivion and Indemnity. Now if they ſtand really guilty of their own Charge, they may vye lewdneſs both with the Spaniſh, the French and the Engliſh Rogue, (with whoſe ſtories, ſo great an Hiſtorian and ſo accompliſh'd a Stateſman as you ſeem to be, cannot be unacquainted) and all their Debaucheries will appear but puny & School-boys villanies in compariſon of their daily practice; if they are not, then this is plainly ſuch a trifling piece of Courtſhip as is not to be endured in a matter ſo ſerious as is our Devotion to the Almighty. But I ſee they are incorrigible in their follies. And though they are convinced paſt all denial that their common confeſſions are plainly inconſiſtent with their moſt ſolemn Pretences; that the Scripture Language wherewith they uſually indite themſelves expreſſes the lewdeſt and moſt deſperate Impieties; that thoſe expreſſions they borrow out of the Old Teſtament are deſcriptions of no worſe people than only ſuch, as had apoſtatized from the worſhip of the true God to Idolatry and all kinds of Moral Wickedneſs, and thoſe out of the new are Characters not only of Hypocrites and wicked Chriſtians, but even of ſuch as had revolted from the Chriſtian

Chriſtian Faith into open Outrage and Blaſphemy againſt it, with many other ſuch horrid Crimes, that ſhould their own Prayers be turn'd into Inditements, their Clerkſhip would ſtand them in little ſtead, and it would never be put into the power of the Ordinary (no, nor ſcarce of the Judge or Jury) to do them a courteſie. And yet notwithſtanding all this they will continue ſtill as laviſh of their Tongues againſt themſelves at Church, as they are againſt their Neighbours and eſpecially their Governours at home. So that it is no ſmall advantage to a Fanatique Congregation, when their Holderforth wants fancy and invention, in that they always come reſolved (eſpecially upon more ſolemn occaſions) to load themſelves and the Company with all the ſad Texts and Burthens in the Bible; and the man that is more fluent and eloquent than his Brethren is but ſo much the better enabled to ſlander himſelf and all his Auditors: And to tell you plainly were I a brother, and ſhould any man that pewed within my reach tell me before witneſs that I am guilty of but one half of the confeſſion, wherewith the dulleſt and moſt coſtive of them all familiarly charges himſelf and all preſent, I would

teach

teach him better manners in *Weſtminſter* Hall. Every man has liberty to abuſe himſelf as he pleaſes, but if he will make bold with my reputation, I muſt and am bound to right my ſelf as I can.

But whether it were lawful for me to write at all, or not, is now too late to enquire; but having written ſo I began. *Though I am none of the moſt zealous Patrons of the Preſs.* How! (ſay you) the Preſs, it is a *Villainous Engine.* Why! What is the matter, did it ever cheat you at Picquet, that the very mention of it ſhould put you into ſuch a Fit of *Lycanthropy*, and ſet you *like the Iſland of* Fayol *on fire in threeſcore and ten places?* But why *Villainous Engine!* fie, fie! does this Language become a Gentleman that has clear'd himſelf of *Froth and Groans?* You learn'd it at *Charing-Croſs* or in *Lincolns-Inn-fields.* But however the Engine may have offended or diſobliged you, it concerns not my grand Theſis, and as little my ſelf, having profeſs'd to be none of its Patrons. And it is of Age and parts ſufficient to manage its own quarrel (for *it is as old as the Reformation, and yet ſtill as talkative as ever*) and therefore I ſhall not intereſt my ſelf in the leaſt in it, no more than if *John a Nokes* were railed at by

by *John a Stiles*. Otherwiſe I have already inform'd you that you have more reaſon than you dreamt of to rail at its Villany: It has (Traytour as it is!) after all its pretended Zeal to the cauſe, betrayed all your ſecrets, and produced your own hand-writings againſt your ſelves. There is ſcarce a crime to be named or thought of, for which it has not an information ready at any time to prefer againſt you, notwithſtanding the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity. And therefore I would wiſh the Non-conformiſts (as little as you think I love them) to be always upon their Guard, leſt it firſt *Trepan* and then *Peach* and then *hang* them; I am ſure it is much more likely and able to do it than my ſelf. I cannot ſee how it can ever expiate all the miſchief it has done your Cauſe already, unleſs it would print the *fifth Epiſtle to* Marcellinus. But be it as perfidious as you pleaſe, it is not half ſo wicked as that villanous Game of Picquet, that has done more harm to the Church of *England* than all the Brawny Printers and Schiſmatical Preachers of *Germany* and *Geneva*: Not excepting the Aſſigns of *John Calvin* and *Theodore Beza* that live in *Chancery Lane* on the South ſide of the

Lake *Lemane*, as the matter is mended in the ſecond Edition of your Geography. And thus having treated the Preſs with as much rudeneſs and malice as if you had taken it for a Clergyman; The next thing you chop upon is the *matter of cloſe and comfortable Importance*. And here never did Countrey Whitefoot ſtiffen and leer more eagerly upon three legs at any thing in a tuft of Fern than you do at the meaning of theſe words. But the leering and the Ecſtaſie ſomewhat abated, they muſt be reduced to one of theſe three, either Salvation or a Benefice or a Female, now for the Jeſts ſake it muſt be neither of the former, and therefore for the ſame jeſts ſake it muſt of neceſſity be the latter. But from hence men of obſervation will be forward to conclude that you move far above the troubles of this World as to Honour and Coin and Eſtate and all other trifles of humane Life, elſe you would have found ſomething elſe to be important beſide a Benefice or a Female, though it were but a Game at Picquet. You have (I thank you) beſtowed upon me a Prebend, a Sine-cure and a Rectorſhip, now why might I not at the time of writing that Preface be buſied in attending the Seals for my Sine-cure,

Sine-cure, and in taking order for the repairs of my Parſonage Barns, and in providing Goods and Furniture for my Prebend-houſe. Theſe I take to be cloſe and comfortable things as well as a female Importance. And what if beſide all this I had newly ſold my little inheritance and engaged in a purchaſe elſewhere that lay better for my own convenience; and what if at that very nick of Affairs a ſtop were put to the payments of the Exchequer, and my Money in the Bankers hands, do you think it did not cloſely concern me to diſengage it from their keeping, and whether it would not have been ſome comfort to have effected it. But it ſeems there is nothing ſo far from the thoughts of you Gameſters as purchaſing of Lands. However you ſee how ſhort your induction is from taking in all particular matters of cloſe and comfortable Importance. Beſide, either the meaning you have pitch'd upon was mine, or it was not; if it were, I would fain be ſatisfied where the wit of it lies, for you to underſtand the right meaning of my words; if it were not, I would then be ſatisfied where the wit of it lies for you to obtrude a wrong one upon them. But I know your advantage; though thus publickly to

betray the mirth and freedome of private converſation, is but Clowniſhly done and like a Jack-Gentleman: you know the meaning of the ſtory better than I do yours of Pork, and I hope all ingenuous men will take warning by my example to avoid your company for the time to come that can make ſuch a rude and ſpiteful uſe of an innocent piece of mirth. And if the Remarque be of any value there is nothing of it beſide the malice and incivility that is your own. But after all ſuppoſe for the Jeſt ſake it be a Female, what have you made of it? You are ſuch a ſtubble-Gooſe-wit that you are not able to raiſe your dull fancy by the advantage of another mans conceit. One would have expected ſome handſome mirth and raillery upon ſo pleaſant a Theme, but you have emproved it ſo Clowniſhly and ſo phlegmatically, as ſhews you equally void of all capacity both of wit and manners. For who beſide your ſelf would upon ſuch an innocent occaſion have vented the moſt ſpiteful and immodeſt reflections upon the whole order of the Clergy? *It* Pag. 11. *is the higheſt Pinacle of Eccleſiaſtical Felicity to aſſwage their concupiſcence and wreck their malice.* Though you were not reſtrain'd by any fear of the day of Judgment,

Judgement, you had reaſons enough to have baulkt ſuch impudence as this, that is ſo far from being a good jeſt, that it is a publique affront to good manners. And ill manners paſs no where for wit but at *Charing-Croß* or in *Lincolns-Inn-fields*. Go your way for a ſmutty Lubber, that can make no other improvement of ſo fair an advantage, than to ſpit your malice and ribaldry; theſe are the top of your wit, if they are not the pinacle of your felicity. Certainly had the jeſt been ten times more elevating than it is, any civil or witty man (eſpecially one that has ſo many to ſpare) would have baulkt it for modeſty, though not for Conſcience or the day of Judgement. And ſo you may go and conſider whether you had not only leiſure enough but cauſe too much to have cool'd your thoughts, and corrected your indecencies.

But turn over the leaf, and there you will find that giving the Reader an account of the heads of the enſuing Diſcourſe, I tell him that I intend to beſtow ſome Animadverſions upon one *J. O.* But would I had told you of this fooling at firſt, for then I had ſaved you the labour of your firſt fourteen Pages. Now is it credible, nay is it not moſt prepoſterous

to think that you ſhould begin your Remarques upon my Preface, before you had read (as you call it) ſo much as the Preamble? Or that you peruſed only three or four lines at a time, and ſo fell into your Animadverſions in the ſame order that they are publiſh'd? No doubt you ſaw this fooling before you ſet pen to paper, but had no power to ſave the labour of all the former Pages. That had cut off the pleaſant Animadverſions upon the Dilemma, the Preſs and the Importance. This wit is ſuch a tempting and bewitching thing that a man has not power to forgo a good jeſt, unleſs it be now and then, *i. e.* very ſeldom, when he chances to think of the day of judgement. But though this fooling as if you had finiſht your Animadverſions upon the firſt Page before you had read the ſecond be ſilly enough, yet it is not altogether ſo bad as confuting the firſt part of a ſentence before you came to the full period. For thus, when I affirm, that as for the danger of the return of Popery into this Nation, I know none but the Non-conformiſts boiſterous and unreaſonable oppoſition to the Church of *England*. Here you ſtop in the middle of
Pag. 267. the ſentence, and clap down a full point

after

after *I know none.* And then if there be none, the conſequence is very eaſie, what a fool I am for my labour to print a Book upon ſuch an impertinent Argument, and ſo away you run with a great deal of inſulting and ſcorn, and never ſtop career till you come to p. 271. and there you crave mercy for taking me a little too ſhort, and ſo add the latter part of the ſentence, and then gravely confeſs that this indeed has ſome weight in it, for truly before you knew none too. And now though one would think no pretender to Controverſial skill could ever match ſuch trifling as this, yet I remember *J. O.* ſerved me juſt ſuch another trick, that was full as fooliſh and ſomewhat more knaviſh. Thus diſcourſing of Chriſtian Liberty I had laid down this aſſertion. *That mankind have a Liberty of Conſcience over all their actions whether morally or ſtrictly religious, as far as it concerns their Judgements, but not their Practices.* He very honeſtly mangles this into two diſtinct propoſitions: The firſt, *that Mankind has a Liberty of Conſcience over all their actions, whether morally or ſtrictly religious.* And this he cloſes up with a full period, as if it were an entire Problem by it ſelf, and then gravely in-

ſults, (as well he might) over ſo magnificent a Grant; and yet after all was not ſo ingenuous as you are, to cry me mercy, but ſuffers his unwary Reader to go away with an opinion of its being the *Grand Theſis* of that Chapter. Theſe are Polemick Divines for the Pope and the Good Old Cauſe, that though they can ſay nothing for themſelves are reſolved never to hold their peace, and rather than give out will tire their Adverſaries with ſuch wretched and intolerable trifling as this. And that was the only intention of your Libell to divert people from attending to the ſerious Argument; but you ſhall not eſcape ſo, I will never leave my advantage to traverſe your impertinencies, for I have you all at my mercy, and there I am reſolved to keep you, and aſſure your ſelves you can never gain any thing by offering any reſiſtance. Your Cauſe is ſo lamentably weak and defenceleſs that you can only betray it, and expoſe your ſelves by giving an occaſion to the Controverſie.

And now after all this loſt labour, that you are of opinion might much better have been ſpared, we are at length arrived upon the brink of the Preface: But here before you leap in, it will be convenient

venient to pitch upon ſome ſtanding jeſt that may give reliſh and picquancy to all the other inſipid and phlegmatick parts of the diſcourſe; and now becauſe neither Authour nor Chaplain nor pink of Courteſie, nor Prieſt, nor Buffoon, nor Prince *Volſcius*, nor *Cicero* are *tuant* enough, what think you if three or four times in every page I call my Adverſary Mr. *Bayes?* Will it not be an admirable jeſt to repeat the word *Bayes* three or four hundred times for the pleaſant conceit, and the pure elegance of avoiding Tautologies? Yes by all means, it is juſt as much wit as if the word had been in the language of *Charing-Croſs* or *Lincolns-inn-fields* plainly *Baſtard*, or more politely *Son of a Whore*: Or, as if you had kept to the language of your own more ſerious Buffoonry, and the word had been *Baals* Prieſt, or a Locuſt of the bottomleſs Pit, or an Antichriſtian Beaſt. For though it might paſs for a very trim fancy in Mr. *Lacy* to faſten this nick-name upon a vain and pedantick Poet, yet for you to borrow it without leave, and apply it to a Perſon of a Sacred and Serious Profeſſion without reaſon, is flat dulneſs and impudence. For who can imagine where the conceit of it ſhould lye to re-

peat

peat a Word of another mans Invention three or four hundred times together, and that chiefly for this very reaſon, *viz.* to avoid repetitions. Next to the killing jeſt of whoop and hola, I never met with any thing like it. You are ſuch another man! But yet ſo tranſporting was the conceit among the Brother-hood (for they are moſt implacable wits) that at your firſt appearance, there was nothing to be found among them but Joy and Jubilee, the 15*th* of *March* was not a more jovial day, neither was there a greater deſtruction of Cheeſe-cakes in *Iſlington* at the opening of the *New River*. All preciſeneſs was laid aſide, not a gloomy look nor an erected white to be ſeen, but they let down their eye-lids as their honeſt neighbours do upon better occaſions their ſhop-windows. And all upon the ſuddain they are become the moſt jolly and moſt humorous companions of the Town: And the very mention of *Bayes* is ſuch a ſplitting conceit! It even endangers both their ſpleens and their lungs, yes, and their Gloves too, they rub them ſo heartily. There is great hopes that it will alter their humours and mend their complexions, at leaſt there is no doubt but it will prove hereafter an admirable

admirable ſpecifick for Fanatique obſtructions. And for this you were immediately horſt upon the ſhoulders of the people (where folly and ignorance alwayes rides) and carried off with victorious noiſe and uproar, and ſhewn in triumph to your old Companions (that little ſuſpected you would ever have come to this) in *Lincolns-Inn-fields* and at *Charing-Croſs*, and there leave you to be preferred to the ſervice of *Punchanella*, to prompt jeſts and repartees to his Puppets, you are juſt a fit Oracle for ſuch an Audience. I might eaſily have requited this civility of yours with twenty more ſymbolizing nick-names, but that I both loath and ſcorn ſuch a Porterly rudeneſs. For you that have obſerved the management of Arguments in the ſtreet, cannot but have taken notice that the Diſputants never come to throwing of dirt, or calling of names till they are baffled, and have nothing elſe to reply. And if you had told me all along that I diſputed with a dirty Face, it had been full as *Tuant*. But if I would revenge my ſelf it is not in my Power, for I cannot now ſtick upon you any name that is more ridiculous than you have made your own; that is already among all ingenious perſons

ſons become the proverbial term for a dull and clownish pretender to Wit.

And thus having been all this while hovering about the *Brink*, you at laſt venture *to commit your ſelf to the dangerous depths of my Diſcourſe*. But after your diving come up only with a vinegar face and a dirty mouth, you look ſowrly on Biſhop *Bramhal*, and do by no means like his Character, becauſe it is forſooth too much for one man, and envy will not down with it; and ſo to vindicate him from my *Scurvy Commendation* you have *very piouſly* compoſed 23 pages of ſtudious and elaborate periods to prove him no better than an undertaking & crack-brain'd Knave. This is the very ſyrrop of Additional Civility. Had the Biſhop been the Dignitary of *Lincoln* you could not have treated him more *Scurvily*. But of your Piety to his Aſhes we have had
Pag. 49. proof enough already, and ſo you proceed to do the ſame office of kindneſs to Mr. *Calvins* Memory, and by as ſcurvy a commendation vindicate him from my ſcurvy Reproaches; in that whatever I have ſaid to his diſparagement is incredible for two Reaſons: 1. Becauſe I do not ſay true; and 2. Becauſe I lye. For Mr. *Calvin* was an honeſt Divine, and

and ſpoke contemptuouſly of the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; and thoſe that will may charitably ſuppoſe he repented of it on his death-bed, though for your part you your ſelf know nothing of it. To this you might have added, that he ſcorn'd to call any body old *Elſibeth* ſo long after ſhe was dead; no, though he too were an *implacable Divine*, yet he was more a Gentleman than ſo, and had the courage to call another Queen of *England Proſerpine* in the time of her own Reign. But the greateſt thing that can be ſaid in Mr. *Calvins* praiſe, is, that he was the firſt founder of that *Modern Orthodox* Doctrine. That it is the duty of Subjects to moderate the licentiouſneſs of Kings, and to puniſh or depoſe them when they play the Tyrants, or wantonly inſult on the Common People. And now pray Sir tell me by the way what Biſhops they are that you *have the honour to be acquainted with, that differ in nothing from* Calvin *but in point of Epiſcopacy*. But thus *Calvin* (in his Epiſtle to Cardinal *Sadolet*, as I remember) juſtifies the Mayor and Bailiffs of *Geneva*, that had wreſted the Supreme Authority of the City out of their Biſhops hands, and veſted it in their Common Counſel, partly

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partly becauſe he had abuſed his Power into Tyranny, and partly becauſe he had no other Title but of ancient Uſurpation; and though by vertue of that he had long claim'd both the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, yet it was at firſt extorted from the Lawful Magiſtrate, *i. e.* the Syndicks, and therefore it could be no theft or felony in them to rob him of their own goods. A plea, if admitted of, that would as eaſily overthrow all the eſtabliſht Governments in the world as the Biſhoprick of *Geneva*, ſeeing there is no Kingdom that cannot within the compaſs of ſome few Ages pretend defrauded Titles againſt the preſent Prince as well as *Geneva*, and this pretence is ſo unavoidable, that it is not in the Power of any eſtabliſht Government to ſecure it ſelf againſt it, and therefore it has alwayes paſt for a Maxime in all Laws, that long poſſeſſion or ancient preſcription gives a ſufficient Title of Right; and though poſſibly it is not in it ſelf ſufficient to veſt a man in a true and real claim, yet it is enough that no man after ſo many years can ſet up any oppoſite Pretence without manifeſt violence and intruſion: For ſuppoſing his Anceſtours to have been once ſeated in the Throne, yet

if

if they have been diſplaced whether juſtly or unjuſtly time out of mind, and almoſt memory too, that wears out their Right; eſpecially when it rarely if it ever happens, but that if Uſurpation may be objected againſt the preſent Poſſeſſour, the ſame exception might as juſtly have been put in againſt the former Title, ſo that if Preſcription be not ſufficient to create a Right, yet it is at leaſt a ſufficient Barr againſt all Intruſion, otherwiſe there can never be any fence againſt this Principle of Rebellion. And this is enough to ſecure the peace of the world, and the ſettlement of all eſtabliſh'd Governments and Common-wealths. But however upon this Principle that is ready to ſerve alike in all Cauſes, he was no ſooner eſtabliſh'd in his Divinity Throne, but he tampers and prevails with the People to abjure all Allegiance to their Biſhop for the time to come, and ſwear obedience and ſubmiſſion to his own Diſcipline.

But the Signiory of *Geneva* was too narrow a Dioceſs for his aſpiring mind, and he had no ſooner ſetled his own new model of Government, but he beſtirs himſelf to obtrude it upon all Churches of the Reformation, *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Bohemia*,

Bohemia, Poland, Savoy, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, and the Church of England. And though he at first lookt upon it as a project of his own deviſing, and acknowledged it had not any Authority from the pattern or preſcript of the Primitive Church, and begg'd its ſettlement at *Geneva*, only as an expedient for the preſent exigence, till they might have leiſure and opportunity of agreeing upon ſome more Apoſtolical Plat-form, yet no ſooner had he brought the Town and Territory of *Geneva* under his yoak, and eſtabliſht his Throne there by ſwearing all the Citizens to a ſubmiſſion to his Doctrine and Diſcipline; but he began to think, as all proſperous and ambitious Princes are wont to do, of enlargement of Empire, and labours might and main to impoſe his Diſcipline upon all Churches of the Reformation; and nothing will ſatisfie Him and his Followers unleſs all Chriſtendom will embrace the device of his warm brain upon pain of the Divine diſpleaſure, and under an obligation of Divine Right. And to this purpoſe he ſends his Diſpatches and makes his Applications to all the Courts in *Europe*, and if any Prince entertain'd any thoughts of

Reformation,

Reformation, he forſooth muſt immediately thruſt himſelf into his Privy Council, and if they were not entirely obedient to his Counſels, he either rejected them as people that were not in good earneſt, or deſpiſed them as people that underſtood not the management of their own affairs; and all his Epiſtles to Princes and Prelates were written with the confidence of Papal Decrees. You may ſatisfie your ſelf with a multitude of inſtances in his Letters to the King, Princes and Caſtellans of *Poland*, to the Prince Elector of the *Palatinate*, to the Church of *Strasburgh*, to the Duke of *Wirtenburgh*, and to the Lantgrave of *Heſs*, beſide his particular miſſives and inſtructions to his Vicar-Generals reſiding in ſeveral Kingdoms and Provinces. But to keep more cloſely to our own concernments, by his Letters Patents to the Exiles of *Francfurt*, the Engliſh Liturgy was caſheir'd to make way for the entertainment of the Order of *Geneva*, and Dr. *Cox* with his Aſſociates, Grave and Reverend Men, (*cum gregalibus ſuis* as he ſtiles them) were rated for endeavouring the eſtabliſhment of the Liturgy of the Church of *England*. And when Mr. *John Hooper* Biſhop Elect of *Gloceſter* had

pickt up a quarrel againſt Caps and Tippets, and Gowns, and Rochets, and Chimeres, who forſooth muſt ſolicite the Duke of *Somerſet* (then the Great Miniſter of State) to have theſe idle ſcruples diſpenſed with in deſpite of the Cuſtomes and Conſtitutions of the Church, but *John Calvin?* Not to mention his Letters to the King, to the Arch-Biſhop, to the Biſhop of *London*, to *Cecil*, and to the Lords of the Council, in which he very frankly, and before his advice is asked, makes his exceptions to the Engliſh Liturgy, and finds fault with many Popiſh and ſuperſtitious Rites; and with an Apoſtolical Authority adviſes the Lay-Lords to ſet aſide all prudence and worldly wiſdom in carrying on the work of Reformation, and admoniſhes the Biſhops to ſtrip themſelves of all Secular Power and Juriſdiction, and charges it upon the Biſhop of *London* in particular, as his duty to inform the Queen that ſhe ought not to truſt or trouble them with any more Authority, than what they might challenge and exerciſe purely by vertue of their Spiritual Office. And all this (I ſuppoſe) to make way for the more eaſie admiſſion of his Diſcipline, with a great many ſtories more that I could tell, and of which

Kings

Kings might by the help of their Royal Underſtandings make excellent uſe. And now after all this it matters not much whether *Geneva* be ſcituated upon the South-ſide of the *Lake Lemane*, or the South-weſt, or the South-weſt and by Weſt, for peace ſake I will grant you any point in the Compaſs, though as far as I can learn by Maps and Books of Geography, they all inform me that it ſtands where it alwayes did on the South-ſide; and if they are miſtaken, it is none of my fault, for I am no Traveller; and had I been impoſed upon in a matter ſo collateral and impertinent to my main deſign, yet no man that had not been to ſeek for more material exceptions, would ever have attempted to make ſo much noiſe and advantage of ſo ſmall a trifle; for though *Geneva* were removed at as great a diſtance as *Surat* and *Grand Cairo*, yet for all that *Calvin* was an over-buſie and pragmatical man, and intermedled with ſeveral Affairs foreign to his Judicature, and out of his Dioceſs, not only before his Advice was asked, but after it was refuſed. And therefore I ſhall not at all concern my ſelf to examine the Debates of your Oecumenical Council about the ſcituation of *Geneva*; the diſcourſe is Pag. 51, &c.

ſuited to the wit and wiſdom of the company, that conſiſts (I ſuppoſe) of your particular Friends that you ſo often remember. *Gilian* the Cook-maid, and *Abigail* the Chamber-maid, and *Mopſa* the dry Nurſe, together with ſome of your *Charing-Croſs* and *Lincolns-Inn-field* wits, you your ſelf being Preſident, for after having condemn'd their remarques for crude and cold conceits, after a frown or two with your mouth, and ſome ſmiling with your forehead (they being both perform'd by the ſame Muſcles) you gravely determine that it was well and wiſely done of me *to chooſe a South-ſun for the better and more ſuddain growth* of the bramble. It is ſuch an Oracle! as if there were not a South-ſun on the North as well as the South ſide of the Lake. And thus having finiſht your ſerious counſels you are at leiſure to advance to a dance, and recreate your ſelf and the company with Anagrams and Acroſticks upon *Calvins* Name. And to confeſs the truth (for I love wit in an enemy) *Lucianus* and *Uſinulca* are very pretty conceits, but yet I have heard of an old *Elſibeth* one that in my poor Opinion is more worth than both of them, *though I recreate my ſelf with believing that my ſim-*

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ple judgment cannot beyond my intention a-bate any thing of the juſt value of your wit with others. And thus having done you right (as you did the Biſhop) by making you this pious Apology, I will venture to let it out, and it is *Culina*, for beſide the tranſproſing Wit that is common to it with all Anagrams, it is an unhappy Omen to betoken how much his followers ſhould delight in Dripping-pan comforts. For beſide our own experience at home, if we may relye upon the relation of your Travels abroad: *The Presbyterians are in all parts the very Canibals of Capons: in ſo much that if Princes do not take care*, the Race of Capons *is in danger to be totally extinguiſh'd.* The Race of Capons man! This *Geneva* certainly is the moſt breeding ſoil (whatever ſome Travellers may report of *Africa*) in the whole Univerſe. For who ever heard of any other Climate ſo fruitful, that even Capons are able to propagate their own Race? But how ſhould Princes take care leſt this Race be totally extinguiſh'd by the ſharpſetneſs of the Preſbyterians, when there is no ſuch Race to be found in any Kings Dominions; for as I take it ever ſince the Biſhops baniſhment, there has been no King of *Geneva*. His Majeſties Curioſity has

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repleniſh'd St. *James's* Park with all ſorts of Fowl from all parts of the World, but could never yet, that I can hear of, procure one ſingle Bird of this Capon Race. So that I perceive notwithſtanding all his great Alliances and Correſpondences abroad, he has no great intereſt in the Court of *Geneva*. But you Sir have travel'd thoſe parts and have no doubt contracted acquaintance with the good Houſe-wifes of the Countrey; it would be a very conſiderable piece of ſervice to the Common-wealth in general, and to your dear Presbyterian brethren in particular, whoſe mouths (you ſay) hang ſo much Capon-way, if you could but help us to ſome of the Chickens of both Sexes of this Capon-brood. I am confident it would be ſo well accepted both in Court and City, that you might eaſily obtain a Patent for the Monopoly and a Penſion for the ſervice. Eſpecially when *they are of the greateſt ſize of any in the reformed World*, ſo that if this race ſhould be totally extinguiſh'd, it might prove of fatal conſequence to the Growth and Intereſt of the reformation in *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Savoy*, *France*, *the Netherlands*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Scotland*, &c. for I have heard great Stateſmen

ſay,

ſay, that if his Holineſs were but Houſe-wife enough to reer a larger Race than that of *Geneva*, he might eaſily draw over the whole ſhole of Preſbyterians to the Church of *Rome*, becauſe (as they obſerve) theſe Canibals are for any Communion that promotes the Ordinance of Capon-eating. Their Stomachs are ſo ſet towards this Race by an inſtinct of nature, that (as we read in your Memoirs) they were no ſooner ſpawn'd, but immediately they drive in whole ſholes for the Land of Capons. This is their natural food without which they cannot ſubſiſt, and ſhould this Race be ever totally extinguiſh'd, they muſt all ſtarve for want of their proper nouriſhment. Is it not then cruelly done of you to inſtigate Princes out of a ſuperfluous care for the Race of Capons, to endanger the total extinction of the Race of Preſbyterians? *'Tis matter of Stomach* Sir (and ſome ſay their Conſcience is nothing elſe) *and if Kings are ſo civil as not to preſs any thing upon their Subjects againſt which they have an Antipathy*, will you be ſuch an hard hearted and inflexible Tyrant, as to deny them what they long for, and without which they cannot live? And not only ſo, but provoke Princes to be the Pag. 2[illegible]

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Miniſters of your cruelty? But they, as they have Gentlemens Memories, ſo have Royal Underſtandings, and *do not think fit to require any thing that is impoſſible, unneceſſary, or wanton of their People:* And are fain to conſider their tempers, their Conſtitutions and their Stomachs. They reflect upon the Hiſtories of former times. They have heard how a Roman Emperour was ſtabb'd for giving the word unhandſomly; How the Parliament of *Poland* ſuffer'd the Turk to enter, becauſe the King would not ſuffer them to be his Taylour; How *Alexander* the great had almoſt loſt all by forcing his Subjects to conform to the *Perſian* habit; How the King of *Spain* is forced to ride bare-leg'd leſt the Biſcainers ſhould diſmount him; How a certain Queen gave a certain Broad-ſeal, of which there came no miſchief; How the Queen of *Sweden* was forced to reſign for an uncivil word; How a ſturdy Swiſs would not conform; How the King of *Spain* loſt *Flanders* (of which he is King ſtill) by the Inquiſition; and an hundred more that I could tell you but idle ſtories, that you may read at your leiſure in the fifth Epiſtle to *Marcellinus*; but however you may think them but idle ſtories, yet Kings can tell how

how to make uſe of them. And *after all theſe fatal Conſequences of Rebellion, which can only ſerve as Sea-marks unto wiſe Princes to avoid the cauſes*, can you think any of them ſo precipitate and unadviſed as to provoke ſuch a fierce and cruel Race of Canibals for the ſake of a few Capons? For if once they revolt, there is no withſtanding their fury, but they pour in upon him like Gothes and Vandals from *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Savoy*, *France*, *the Netherlands*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Scotland*, and enter into Covenant and Arms. And then you know no men fight ſo keenly as thoſe whoſe Courages are whet by their Stomachs. And now how had the King been ſerved if he had followed your advice to intereſs his Government in defence of the *Race of Capons?* He had run himſelf into a fine Premunire, had he not, to bring all the Preſbyterians in Chriſtendome about his Ears? No, let the Race of Capons ſhift for it ſelf; it concerns them to ſecure their own Race of Kings againſt theſe Canibals, they are as great devourers of Kings as Capons.

But under pretence of making *Calvin* and *Geneva* ridicule *I kill whole Nations*, *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Savoy*, Pag. 42, 3.

Savoy, *France*, *the Netherlands*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Charing-cross*, and *Lincolns-Inn-fields*, with six Countreys more, and many more, and a long *&c.* beside. This I must confess is more than I was aware of, and yet if the Inhabitants of all these Countreys are Canibals of the Race of Capons, I defie them all, though you should cast in over and above, *Tartary*, *China*, *the great Moguls Countrey*, *Prester John*, *and the King of Guiney*. Let but the great Turk stand Neuter, and I do not fear all the Calvinists in the World beside. I will make Cimarrs of their very Whiskers, and the Puny Bishops of *Munster*, *Cullen*, and *Strasburg* shall be my Chaplains. But how comes *Geneva* to be the Catholick Church? Or did all these Countreys ever submit to *Calvin*'s Yoke? Why then must they of necessity follow the fortunes of *Calvin* and *Geneva*? I know indeed he endeavour'd to extend his Empire over all these and many Countreys more, but I cannot find that ever any Prince swore Allegiance to his Discipline excepting only Mr. Mayor of *Geneva*. Nor do I know where his Discipline has any Power at this day, unless in the *Netherlands*, (if it have or ever had any there)

But

But that part of my undertaking his Majeſty and the French King have taken out of my hands. And I hope you do not mean them by the two others that you ſay I have taken into Partnerſhip with me. For though I am page 42. the Draw-can-ſir, that fight ſingle with all theſe Countreys, yet page 44. I do nothing without the aſſiſtance of two others. This is a pretty contradiction, but what is that to a man that can make Corollaries to juſtifie Theſes, or build ſuperſtructures to ſupport Foundations? But yet what is it we do? What! we club to *traveſteer the Scripture, and render all the ſerious part of Religion odious and contemptible.* The ſerious part of Religion! Why, is there any part of Religion that is not ſerious? But it were worth the while to know who theſe two wicked men are, why, *leſt we might be miſtaken as to the perſons you mention, you will aſſure the Reader that you intend not Hudibras.* Of all your Apologies give me this for Civility: that you cannot make mention of any perſon that is remarkable for prophaneneſs, but as if the Character ſuited this Gentleman ſo exactly, it were neceſſary to except him in particular, leſt all your Readers

Pag. 44.

Ibid.

ſhould

ſhould immediately conclude he was the Perſon intended. *This is ſuch an ill-favour'd piece of additional Civility, that an accuſatory ſpirit could deſire no better play than you have given in his vindication.* It is a mighty complement this, though I am ſpeaking of ſome ungodly Wretches that make it their buſineſs to render *all the ſerious part* of Rebellion odious and contemptible, I beg your pardon Sir, I will aſſure you upon my word it is not you I intend at preſent. This it is to be a perſon of private condition and breeding. Had that worthy Gentleman call'd you to an account for making any unhandſome reflections upon him, this weeping Apology had been ſomewhat excuſable, but otherwiſe (as you excellently obſerve) *there cannot be a more dexterous and malicious way of Calumny, than by making a needleſs Apology for another in a criminal Subject.* But yet however you may aſſure your ſelf that he will never take any notice of ſuch a deſpicable yelper as you, unleſs with a Dog-whip. Thou Prevaricatour of all the Laws of Buffoonry, thou daſtard Craven, thou Swad, thou Muſhroom, thou Coward in heart, word, and deed, thou *Judas*, thou Crocodile, thus (though it were in thy greateſt

Pag. 256.

eſt neceſſity) after having profeſſ'd wit and rithme theſe fifty years, to ſnivle out ſuch a whining ſubmiſſion in publick is paſt all precedent of Cowardize from the Trojan war to this very day; but that thou ſhouldeſt do it of thy own accord and without any provocation is more ſneaking than the flattery of a Setting-dog. Thou ſhalt wear a Collar, and thy name ſhall be *Trey*.

And ſo we arrive at the Character of a Noble-man's Chaplain; for having heretofore (among other your juvenile Eſſays of Ballads, Poeſies, Anagrams and Acroſticks) laid out your ſelf upon this Subject alſo, and your Papers lying uſeleſs by you at this time when your Muſe began to tire and ſet, it might be very convenient to fill up twelve pages with this Character whilſt ſhe baited and recover'd Breath. But the greateſt part of it is ſo very trite and vulgar, that none but a ſuperannuated Wit would ever have accepted of ſuch outworn and old faſhion'd Jeſts. And the reſt of it ſo Garagantuan and Legend-like, *v. g. the raiſing of a mans Hypocondria into the Region of his Brain, his being lifted up into the Air ſo high as to crack his Scull againſt the Chappel Ceiling*, with a deal more of ſuch wild and incredible Stuff, that I ſhall wave it all becauſe

I am

I am ſure it is impoſſible that Kings ſhould ever make uſe of ſuch idle and extravagant ſtories. And if I would ſtudy revenge I could eaſily have requited you with the Novels of a certain *Jack Gentleman* that was born of pure Parents, and bred among Cabin-boys, and ſent from School to the Univerſity, and from the Univerſity to the gaming Ordinaries, but the young man being eaſily rook'd by the old Gameſters, he was ſent abroad to gain Cunning and Experience, and beyond Sea ſaw the Bears of *Bern*, and the large Race of Capons at *Geneva*, and a great many fine ſights beſide, and ſo return'd home as accompliſh'd as he went out, tries his fortune once more at the Ordinaries, plays too high for a Gentleman of his private condition, and ſo is at length cheated of all at Picquet. And ſo having neither Money nor employment, he is forced to loiter up and down about *Charing-Croſs* and in *Lincolns-Inn-fields*, where he had leiſure and opportunity to make Remarques (among other Subjects) upon the wheel of Fortune, from whence with the help of a little skill in Mathematicks he at length makes out this new and important diſcovery in Politicks, *as a ſtraight line continued grows a Circle*,

Circle, even ſo Power infinitely extended becomes Impotency. Which with many more of his choiceſt Obſervations he at length diſcharges into a certain Book call'd the *Rehearſal*, which as ſoon as you have finiſht this, I would willingly recommend to your peruſal, that you may ſee how much pains a witty man may take to make others merry and himſelf ridiculous. Where you will meet with many more that perhaps you will think but idle ſtories, but Kings know how to make uſe of them. For how modeſtly ſoever the Author may ſpeak of his own private condition and breeding, his Memoires will be very ſerviceable to the inſtruction of Princes. It is he that firſt obſerved how the Clergy have in all Ages obſtructed the Clemency of Kings; how they can deform the whole Reign of the beſt Princes that ever wielded Scepters; how by their leaſings they keep up a ſtrangeneſs and miſunderſtanding between the Soveraign and his Subjects; how they trinckle with Parliaments, and by their pickthankneſs make them expoſe both their own and his Majeſties Wiſdome to poſterity. It is he only that can with Authority from above (for he could have it nowhere elſe) enſure Princes, that the reaſon why God does

does not bleſs the Clergy in affairs of State, is becauſe he never intended them for that employment. It is he that firſt diſcover'd the Sea-marks of Government, and by the Hiſtories and Originals of all former rebellions inſtructed Princes how to avoid the like cauſes. It is he that has inform'd them that the body is in the power of the mind, and the mind in the hand of God, ſo that to puniſh either of them is to correct the Divine Majeſty. It is he that has adviſed them how to humour their Subjects, and not force them to conform to a faſhion or ceremony, for the ſake of *Alexander* the Great, and the Emperour, the ſturdy *Swiſs*, and the Town-ſeal. In brief, it is he that has taught them *Gentlemens Memories* to forget all injuries, and *Royal Underſtandings* to prevent none. Theſe ſtories would have been more inſtructive to Princes than a pitiful Legend of a crack't Chaplain, and for that reaſon I ſhall not paſs them by ſo lightly, but reſerve them to their proper place of State-Policy.

From the Chaplain you are immediately led by a certain train of thoughts to *J. O.* upon whom you ſpend an horrible deal of Abecedarian wit, that was taken out of his own Primer, as the reſt

of

of your Book was out of his *Survey*. I ſuppoſe the intention of it is to nick all Capacities, for having made the reſt to pleaſe fools this was deſign'd for the entertainment of children, and to them I leave it, only I cannot but obſerve from your purſuing it to ſuch an irkſome and tedious length, that you have not the judgement of a Jack-pudding to diſcern when you have plaid the fool enough. And here follows the delightful ſtory of *Gill* and *Triplet*, but this too I ſhall keep cold for your Politiques, becauſe it is a ſtory that Kings may make uſe of. And thus are we arrived once more at the Grand Theſis, that ſtands juſt as it did at the beginning. For whether it were lawful for me to write any more, or not; whether the Preſs be a villainous Engine, or not; whether Importance be a Female or not; whether *Calvin* were a bramble or not; whether *Geneva* ſtand on the South-ſide of the *Lake Lemane* or not; whether there be a Race of Capons propagated there or not; whether it be poſſible for a mans Hypocondria to riſe up into his head or not; whether *J. O.* be an Hee-cow or not; and whether *Triplet* were legally whipt by *Gill* after he could plead *adultus* or not; I will main-

tain it againſt *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Savoy*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Scotland*, *Geneva*, *Germany*, *Charing-Croſs*, *Lincolns-Inn-fields*, *Grubſtreet*, *Pin-makers hall*, *J. O.* and your *Self*, and any one man more, I care not though it be the ſturdy *Swiſs*, *That it is abſolutely neceſſary to the Peace and Government of the World, that the Supreme Magiſtrate of every Commonwealth ſhould be veſted with a Power to Govern and Conduct the Conſciences of Subjects in affairs of Religion.* And now to conclude, is it not a ſad thing that a well-bred and faſhionable Gentleman, that has frequented Ordinaries, that has worn Perukes, and Muffs, and Pantaloons, and was once Maſter of a Watch, that has travell'd abroad and ſeen as many Men and Countries as the Famous *Vertuoſi Sorbier* and *Coriat*, that has heard the City *Lyons* roar, that has ſtaved and tail'd to the Bears of *Bern*, that has eaten of the Race of Capons at *Geneva*, that has paſt the *Alps*, and ſeen all the *Tredeſcin* rarities and old ſtones of *Italy*, that has ſat in the Porphyrie Chair at *Rome*, that can deſcribe the method of the Election of Popes, and tell ſtories of the tricks of Carnivals, that has been employ-

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ed in Embaſſies abroad, and acquainted with Intrigues of State at home, that has read Playes, and Hiſtories, and Gazets; that (I ſay) a Gentleman thus accompliſht and embelliſht within and without, and all over, ſhould ever live to that unhappy dotage, as at laſt to diſhonour his grey hairs, and his venerable Age with ſuch childiſh and impotent endeavours at wit and buffoonry.

Thus having courſed you through eleven beginnings from the Preface into the Eccleſiaſtical Polity, from thence into the Defence, from the Defence back again into the Preface, from that into Biſhop *Bramhall*, anon into the Preface to the Eccleſiaſtical Polity, and ſtreight back again into the Biſhops Preface, and from thence away to Dr. *Thorndike*, the Friendly Debate, Mr. *Hooker*, to Mr. *Hales* for 10 pages of Rithm to Iſm, thence to *G. O's* diſcourſe of Evangelical Love and Unity from p. 127 to the end, and then from page the firſt to page the 127th, and ſo backward and forward to the conflagration of *London*, the burning of the Ships of *Chatham*, St. *Pauls* Church, and *Diana's* Temple, *Ben. Johnſon*, *Horace*, the 5 *Chap.* to the *Galatians*, and the 5 *Epiſt.* to *Marcellinus*. After all this I

thought I might begin to expect a little reſt, and to hope that we need not deſpair that you began to deſign to conclude to begin to draw an end of beginning to begin, as knowing that all raving fits uſually end in a Lethargy; and it began to ſucceed juſt according to my wiſhes, when I heard all on the ſuddain *Mr. Bayes good night*: But whether it is, that ſome body has ſtrewed Cow-itch in your Bed, or that your Conſcience is very reſtleſs, or that you only ſlept dogs ſleep, immediately in the very next line I am awaked with good morrow Mr. *Bayes*, and am teaſed as freſhly for a certain Preface ſhewing what grounds there are of fears and jealouſies of Popery, as if this had been our firſt ſalute, and we had never exchanged word before. And here (to borrow one of your Schemes of Speech) it ſeems that *England* is no ſtranger to rumours of Popery; it ſeems that it has been the Puritan Artifice ever ſince the Reformation to poſſeſs the People with theſe panick fears; it ſeems the Church of *England* has perpetually been traduced by them as Popiſhly affected; It ſeems I vindicate the Church from this aſperſion by pregnant and undeniable inſtances of Religious Loyalty and Obedience;

dience; it ſeems I have charged the Rebels as juſtly and undeniably with the direct contrary Principles and Practices. It ſeems I do not recriminate any deſigns of Popery to the Non-conformiſts, but charge them moſt righteouſly with a conſtant and boyſterous oppoſition to the Church, thereby creating dangerous diſorders and diſturbances to the State; It ſeems Atheiſtical and Irreligious Caitifs, out of a peculiar hatred, and moſt exquiſite malice to the Church and Churchmen, are never wanting to promote and abett theſe miſchievous diſorders; It ſeems if crafty and ſacrilegious Statesmen joyn in the Confederacy, they are apt enough to run the Kingdom into ſuch miſerable neceſſities, that there is no ſupport of their intereſt without rapine and ſacriledge; It ſeems that if the Church of *England* ſhould ever be hereby deſtroyed, no other Religion can be eſtabliſh'd in lieu of it but Popery, becauſe Fanaticiſm is ſo wild and untractable a thing, that it is uncapable of any ſettlement upon any Principles; It ſeems all this either is, or for any thing you are able to oppoſe to it, may be as true as Goſpel, and though it ſeems you dare not anſwer it, becauſe you cannot, yet

it ſeems you have the confidence to deny it all, and confute it with abundance of cenſure and cavil; and more it ſeems you could have done *were it not for falling under the penalty of a certain Act of Parliament againſt ſpreading of falſe news*, even as you durſt not anſwer what you had quoted out of my *Eccleſ. Pol. for fear of bringing your ſelf within the Statute of Treaſonable Words*. Sweet Gentleman! What a misfortune it is when a Godly, Loyal, tender Conſcience, bearing ſo much awful Reverence and ſoultry affection to the Supreme Magiſtrate, ſhould in all his Diſputes ſo croſs with Authority, that he dares not ſpeak out his mind plainly, only for fear of being hang'd. But were it not for the Statute againſt Treaſonable Words you would make me an Example to all Generations. But yet though you dare not Reply for fear of theſe ſanguinary Laws againſt Treaſon, yet you can do what is more ſerviceable to your purpoſe, you can take occaſion to raiſe calumny enough from my Diſcourſe to render my Self and all the Clergy odious to all Intereſts within the Kings Dominions; And firſt you begin with the King himſelf, and diſcover, that after all it was *neither the Book-ſeller, nor*

Pag. 261.

Pag. 104.

nor Geneva, nor the Trouts, nor the Sprats, nor the Race of Capons, nor Presbyterians, nor Millecantons of Fanatiques, nor B. Bramble, nor Ulmulca, nor the Hobgoblins, nor J. O. nor Non-conformity, nor Hungary, nor Transylvania, nor Bohemia, nor Poland, nor Savoy, nor France, nor the Netherlands, nor Denmark, nor Sweden, nar Scotland, nor Germany; but the King was the person aim'd at from the beginning. Pag. 264.

And it now sufficiently detects my malice to His Majesty to stir up matter of such dangerous and seditious Discourse. Though not above a page or two since, he was abundantly assured and satisfied of my Loyalty, and we were all three very good Friends, and yet here you tell His Majesty nine times over, how I *bear an evil eye to him and his Government, that I publish Manifesto's against his Indulgence, that I make his proceedings odious, &c. by raising a publick and solemn Discourse through the whole Nation concerning a matter the most odious and dangerous that could be exposed.* When your Self, and all your Readers both know that most mens heads were fill'd with these jealousies, and all mens mouths with these Discourses before my Preface was publish'd or thought on; and withall,

that I am so far from adding any encouragement to the fears and jealousies of the people, that my only design was to shew that it was a thing impossible in it self ever to be brought about by any other means than the folly of the Nonconformists. So that whatever designs the Popish Party might at that or any other time have upon our Religion, we had no great reason to apprehend any danger from their attempts, were it not for that advantage that is given them by the giddy and incessant opposition of the Fanatique Faction to the Church of *England*. So that it is manifest by this, that you intended nothing but cavil and wrangling, thus to charge me with stirring up this odious Discourse of Popery, when as to that all the Nation are able to convict you of notorious falsehood and leasing; and whether the Discourse of that occasion'd my Preface no body can know beside my self, but this they all know, that my Preface never occasion'd that Discourse. And now after all, it seems there was more danger than you or I dreamt of, by that Alarm that the King and Parliament have taken upon this matter. I know you and your Party will never acknowledge that my Preface

was

was the cauſe of this new Act againſt Popery, and yet you may do it much more ſafely, than to make it the original of that publick and ſolemn Diſcourſe that run through the whole Nation upon this Argument, in that the Act was enacted ſince my Preface, and the Diſcourſe was publique before it. And now you would do well to charge the Parliament as you have done the Biſhop for *being enemies to the State in raiſing all this din and obloquy, and diſquieting His Majeſties good Subjects with ſuch fears, when there was no danger.* But you are never concern'd either as to the truth or the ingenuity of your Cavils, ſo they do but reflect ſome odium upon the Clergy; and I have very good reaſon to believe, that as much as you have magnified the *Declaration for Indulgence*, and decryed all dangers and ſuſpicions of Popery, yet had you been a Member of this preſent Parliament, you would have been as forward as he that was moſt ſo in remonſtrating to the Declaration, and voting for the Act. And now you ſee what reaſon you have given the Publique to have any great opinion of your Integrity. Should I have prevaricated at this rate with the world, have been ſo inconſiſtent in all my actions, have

thus

thus cut and ſhuffled in all my words, and have clapt on ſo many diſguiſes and contradictory Apologies upon every thing I ſay; I muſt confeſs I have not face enough to preſume ſo confidently upon the dulneſs and ſimplicity of mankind, as to flatter my ſelf with any hopes of eſcaping without diſcovery and diſcrace: every body has wit enough to ſee through ſuch ſtupid and inartificial *Leaſings*.

But had you been Solicitour-General to the High Court of Juſtice, you could ſcarce have been more dexterous than you are at framing and aggravating Inditements out of nothing; they were forced to amaſs together heaps of accuſations to make up one cumulative crime, but you can hang a man for his Courtſhip, and extract Treaſon out of a Complement. Thus becauſe I ſuppoſe it poſſible for his Majeſty to dye before the day of Judgment, and then that ſome Prince may ariſe in after Ages endued with leſs Wiſdome, and by conſequence poſſeſſ'd with leſs kindneſs to the Church of *England*, that is ſo admirably accommodated to the intereſt of the Crown beyond all other Churches in the World. *This* (ſay you) *is pretty plain dealing, 'tis to take*

the

the pillow from under his head; you ſhould have thought it better Courtſhip in a Divine to have ſaid, O King live for ever. What a Miſcreant am I! ſure I can be no leſs than another *John Chaſtel* or *Ravillac.* What draw the Pillow from under my Princes head, that is diſpatch him by fraud or violence before the courſe of nature brings on the period of his diſſolution? Search the Villain, his pockets are full of poyſon'd Daggers and ſcrewed Piſtols; for how elſe could he foretell that the King muſt one day dye, unleſs he were reſolved to fulfill his own Prophecie, for otherwiſe, if it pleaſe God, the King may live for ever. Does this Language become a Subject, much leſs a Divine to his Prince, *O King you are mortal and muſt dye like other men.* Is not this to upbraid him with his Mortality, and to beat down his eſteem with the people by informing all the Nation that he is no more than a man? At leaſt is it civil or dutiful thus unſeaſonably to ſhew him his winding ſheet, and mind him of the day of Judgment, to ſpoil the wit and cheerfulneſs of his Converſation by forcing him to baulk good jeſts for fear of an after-reckoning for idle and profane words.

This ſufficiently detects your malice and ill intention Pag. 265.

intention to his Majesties Government, for all your Sleights and Legerdemain, to take this occasion altogether foreign and unseasonable to raise a publick and solemn discourse throughout the whole Nation concerning a matter the most odious and dangerous that could be exposed. That no man can pass by a Book-sellers Stall, but he must be minded of the Kings Mortality. These are the marks and Characters of your displeasure against him; whilst you were pleased to vouchsafe him your favour and countenance, you were not wont to talk after this rate; but now because he will not take up Arms upon your Becks, and listen to your implacable and sanguinary Counsels, and tear in pieces the sacred Act of Oblivion and Indemnity, there is no remedy but dye he must, whereas otherwise the complement had been *O King live for ever.* This is almost as heavy an accusation as the rudeness you have upbraided me with against Queen *Elizabeth*; when suddainly with undaunted Courage down goes your Gauntlet in her Majesties quarrel, for though she were dead some years ago, yet it seems she was much disobliged to be thought old, and if any body call'd her so, could not for her heart stay till the

day

day of Judgment, but muſt up and at 'em. And therefore to revenge this Affront you have let fly at me ſeven pages of Latin and Engliſh, which had you rendred into Italian or Spaniſh, might as well have revenged King *John* of the Pope, and *Scanderbeg* of the great Turk, for they concern us all alike. But certainly never were any Princes wont to be thus irreverently treated by their Subjects heretofore, as to have the leaſt ſuggeſtion whiſper'd either of their Age or their Mortality.

And yet you are not content to bring me into diſfavour with his Majeſty and Queen *Elizabeth*, but you muſt expoſe me to the diſpleaſure of the Privy Council, and make bate between the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Politicians. For *really he doth ſpeak of King and Counſellors at ſuch a rate, and deſcribe and characterize ſome men ſo, whomſoever he intends, that though I know there are no ſuch, I dare not touch, it is too hazardous.* You tell us, I remember, upon another occaſion that *every ſimilitude muſt have if not all, yet ſome likeneſs*, that is to ſay every likeneſs muſt have ſome likeneſs, though it does not follow that if it muſt have ſome it muſt have all as you would emprove it in your Pag. 316.

your conclusion against me, *viz.* that because *Sardanapalus* was a King, and a good Spinster, that therefore every King must be as good a Spinster as *Sardanapalus*. But here is a very like Picture, and yet like no body. *I describe and characterize some men so, that though you know there are no such, you dare not touch, it is too hazardous.* Whoop and hola! is all our talk of Duels and fighting come to this, to be afraid of no body? If there are no such persons, fear not, they will never challenge you for taking them by the Beard. I did not set down the first letters of any mans name, nor describe the features of any mans face, nor give intimation of my knowledge of any mans lodging, I only characterized the qualities of some Persons that are to be found in all Ages to oppose the *Clergy of all Ages* in their opposition to the *Clemency of the Kings of all Ages*. Now that any mans qualities should be characterized, when there is no such man in the World, no man can understand but a man of Contradictions. For the persons cannot be pointed at but by the Character, and therefore if the Character happen to suit no body at this time, then it is certain no body at this time can be characterized.

Nor

Nor indeed did I ever hear of any ſuch Perſons, who gave the King ſuch Counſels of Sacrilege as I there deſcribed, beſide your ſelf, that have nothing to lay to his charge (ſince the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity) beſide his not ſeizing the Church revenues, otherwiſe though the Clergy are the vileſt men in the World, *you do not ſee but that he leads a more unblameable Converſation.* A very obliging Teſtimony, and when his Majeſty wants a *Living*, he will no doubt come to you for a Certificate. But to let that paſs, this intimation againſt the Council is as ſtabbingly ſuggeſted as the ſtory of *Sardanapalus*; that a man cannot give a general Character of a ſacrilegious Stateſman but ſome of his Majeſties Privy-Council muſt immediately be glanced at, this indeed is too hazardous to be touch'd, and yet you cannot keep in your fingers from pointing, though you dare not touch. A man of your reading cannot be ignorant that there are too many of this ſort of Vermine in all Ages, and that there are enough of them at this time, though they dare not appear in publick view, but if ever affairs ſhould at any time ſeem to require it, they will be ready and officious to inſtruct Princes in this dangerous

Leſſon,

Leſſon, to encourage them to burn Temples, to plunder Churches, to trample upon all the Laws of Juſtice, and affront all the ſolemnities of Religion, to ſcorn the pedantick ſtories of Honour and Conſcience, and to ſet down to themſelves no other meaſures of Government but falſhood, oppreſſion, and cruelty. Theſe are the *Sejanuſſes* that I deſcribed, and I took my Character from the monſters of former times, and you may find the men in the *deformed Reigns* of *Nero* and *Tiberius*. They are engendred under Tyrants, and out of the corruptions of Government, and they cannot uſually lift up their heads under a merciful and gracious Prince, (though the laſt King it ſeems had the ill fortune *to have his whole Reign* deformed by being unhappily trinkled with Ceremonies, Arminianiſm and Manwaring.) Were it poſſible that ever his Majeſty ſhould degenerate from the goodneſs of his own Nature as much as (they ſay) *Nero* did, we might then, but not till then, fear ſuch Favourites and Counſellers as ſhould dare to tell him it is below a Sovereign Prince to ſubmit to the Pedantry of Conſcience, and to be impoſed upon with the ſolemn cheats of Religion; theſe are fit ſtories to *trinkle* his People

People into ſervitude; but he muſt own no other Rule of Good and Evil, Juſtice and Honeſty beſide his own pleaſure or reaſon of State; and for his own convenience he may break Oaths, murther the Innocent, and care not how he oppreſs and defraud his Subjects, and ſacrifice the welfare of a whole Kingdome to his own Pride and Luxury. And therefore Sir, you muſt not ſtick at Rapine or Sacrilege for the ſupport or the eaſe of your Government, but ſeeing your Reign is ſhort, be ſo provident as to make the beſt advantage of your Fortune; and ſeeing you received your Power by the chance of inheritance, and are no way accountable for the diſcharge of any truſt, make your own days as pleaſant and eaſie as you may, and burthen not your ſelf with a ſuperfluous care for the happineſs of your Subjects or Poſterity. Now to ſay that in ſuch a general Character of wickedneſs as this I muſt ſpeak particularly *concerning King and Counſellors* is ſuch an height of impudence, that his Majeſty can never ſufficiently requite it by aſſigning you a Nitch in the Old Exchange, that is honour enough for ſuch vulgar Wits as King *James* and my ſelf. He can do no leſs than pearch your *Laureated*

reated Effigies upon the Imperial Graſhopper. The only publique place that I can think of, where you may ſit out of danger of rotten Eggs and Turnip tops.

But you fall ſo often into theſe throws and pangs of Ingenuity, that it is impoſſible for me to correct all your Leaſings, and therefore I will only exemplifie two or three of the goodlieſt ones, leſt I ſhould be caſt and condemned for baulk-
Pag. 307. ing a legal Plea. And thus, *Imprimis*, *have I caſt a miſchievous aſperſion upon His Majeſty of thinking to convert the Revenues and Dignities of the Church to his own uſe.* To lay ſuch an heinous act of Inſolence to my Charge without any reference to my Writings, were not to be endured in any perſon living beſide your ſelf, who when you have caſt all the fouleſt aſperſions in the world upon any ſpecial friend whom you deſign to treat with an *Additional Civility*, can eaſily wipe off all again with an impudent and counterfeit Apology, it is but proteſting, that *You recreate your ſelf with believing that your ſimple judgement cannot beyond your intention abate any thing of my juſt value with others*, and then you have done me right and merited my pardon, though you had accuſed me of poiſoning my Parents,

rents, and eating up all my Brothers and Siſters. But theſe are your leaſings, for it was but juſt now that the King and I were very good friends, and that he was aſſured of my Loyalty; and yet here am I aſperſing him with a calumny the blackeſt and moſt odious in the world. Whereas you cannot but be conſcious that I have given His Majeſty as large and fair a Teſtimonial as he (or any man elſe) can deſire of his Zeal and Conformity to the Church of *England*. Though had I been ſo diſ-ingenuous as to dart this aſperſion upon him, yet it had been leſs diſobliging than your *ſcurvy Commendation*; who when you ſet your ſelf to ſtrein for *elaborate and ſtudious Periods* of flattery, the higheſt Elogy you can find in your heart to vouchſafe Him, is, that you do not know but he may lead a more unblameable converſation than the worſt and wickedeſt men in the world, were it not for one inexcuſable fault, his obſtinacy in not aſſuming the Revenue of the Church to his own Uſe. So that my aſperſion, if it were true, is upon your Principles ſo far from *detecting any malice to His Government*, that it would clear him of the only blemiſh that lyes upon his Reputation. Sure you are half *Guelph*

and half *Gibelline*, you are every where ſo croſs and contradictory to your ſelf. But as I have aſperſt the King with the only thing for which you would commend him, ſo *I have all along appropriated or impropriated all the Loyalty from the Nobility, the Gentry, and the Commonalty, and dedicated it to the Church.* Why! did any of the Kings Subjects fight for him beſide the Clergy? Had he any Commanders in his Army beſide Biſhops and Dignitaries? Were not all his Battels fought under the Conduct of *General Uſher* and *Captain Bramhall* againſt Dr. *Cromwel* and Dr. *Ireton*, for with that Title were they Dub'd at *Oxford* by one *J. O.* in their Return from the bloody Conqueſt of *Ireland?* Did not the Kings whole Infantry conſiſt of *poor Readers*, as the Kirk Foot did of *Maſs-Johns*, who brought in Covenant and Reformation in exchange for ſhooes and ſtockings. But if you can name any of the Nobility, Gentry, or Commonalty, that ventured Lives and Fortunes for the Royal Cauſe, I believe we ſhall never be ſo impudent as to deny them their ſhare of Loyalty and Service to their Prince. And if you cannot, I am ſure I can name amongſt them as gallant Examples of Courage

and

and Integrity as perhaps no Age can parallel; they fought and they ſuffer'd with the conſtancy and reſolution of Martyrdom, and nothing could in the leaſt abate their zeal and their devotion to an oppreſt and an afflicted Prince; and this becauſe their Loyalty was founded upon Principles of Conſcience and Religion; and that is it that I have appropriated to the Church of *England*, that it teaches the duty of Subjects in abſolute and indiſpenſable terms without leaving ſhifts & evaſions for diſobedience, whereas all other Parties tye it on with falſe and counterfeit knots, ſo that by the help of reſerves the Subject may be as much as ever at liberty to obey or diſobey as himſelf ſhall deem convenient. And when ſometimes they ſhall have preached up the neceſſity of Allegiance in the moſt poſitive and comprehenſive terms, they will bring themſelves off with ſo many clauſes and exceptions, as muſt utterly evacuate the obligation of their own Doctrines. And if at any time they happen to be ſtubborn in their Loyalty, their Prince is indebted for that either to chance or intereſt, or inclination, or ſome other uncertain and changeable Principle. But the thing that I have appropriated to the

Church of *England* is Loyalty upon firm and effectual Principles; in ſo much that a man muſt be an Apoſtate before he can be a Rebel, and renounce his Religion and his Duty to God before he can neglect his Allegiance and his Duty to his Prince. This is the peculiar and diſtinguiſhing Article of the Church of *England*, ſo that when you infer that I have impropriated it to the Clergy from the Nobility and Gentry, you muſt firſt ſuppoſe that none of the Nobility or Gentry belong to her Communion. And now are you not a modeſt and an honeſt Gentleman to charge me with ſuch an unſufferable rudeneſs and diſingenuity againſt ſo great a number of the braveſt and moſt gallant ſpirits in the world. Though this I know was intended only in purſuance of your Grand Deſign, by ſuch impudent *Leaſings* to raiſe up a miſunderſtanding between the Clergy and all other Orders of men in the Kingdome. And that is the bottom of all your malice and hatred to them, that as long as they are able to keep and make good the Pulpits Loyalty will be the Religion of the people, and they will not eaſily be wrought upon to liſten to your Factions and Democratical inſinuations. And that

is it (whatever you pretend of the Dignitary of *Lincoln*) that makes you and your Partners to gnaſh your teeth, and knit your fiſts with ſo much impatience againſt the Order it ſelf. But were you capable of wit in your anger, you would have let fly at them with ſome more plauſible and probable aſperſions, and not think to bring them into diſcredit among wiſe and ſober men with ſuch rank and notorious fictions. For this can only betray your malice and ill intentions, and though you had right on your ſide, it would be an invincible prejudice againſt your Cauſe and your Party, that ſcruple not any Arts, howſoever diſhoneſt or diſhonourable, to do a deſpite to the Church of *England*. I remember another Accuſation, which though it be not altogether ſo impudent as this, yet when I firſt read it, methoughts it was ſomewhat more pleaſant, that *my Preface intermedles with the King, the Succeſſion, the Privy Council, Popery, Atheiſm, Biſhops, Eccleſiaſtical Government, and above all* (it ſeems this is more ſawcy than all the reſt) *with Non-conformity and J. O.* Why truly not unlike; but it ſeems, if you had reſolved to write a Preface, it is like you would have mentioned no- Pag. 7.

thing more than your own private affairs, and only informed the Reader of your losses at Picquet, and the Gaming Ordinaries, your adventures at the Bear-garden of *Bern*, your encounters with the mighty race of Capons at *Geneva*, your Remarques upon the wheel of Fortune, and whipping of Gigs, and your studies in the 5. *Epist.* to *Marcellinus*. But alas! my breeding and condition are too private to bless the world with such great and observable Memoires; and therefore not having the advantage that You and *Cæsar* had of writing my own Novels, I was forced to intermeddle with the affairs of others; the King, the Council, and (above all) *J. O.* And towards them all *I have endeavourd the utmost Ingenuity, and if I have fail'd, I even ask their pardon, I do them right.* And then though I have abused them never so unworthily I make them ample amends by this clause of *additional Civility*. But however I have treated them I must confess I am bound to beg your pardon in particular, because you your self have intermedled with none of these things. And now did ever any fool in the world make so much noise and puther to so little purpose?

But

But of all the Examples that ever I read of the undue and brutiſh ſtirring of Paſſions, I never met with any like that horrible and boobily noiſe that you have raiſed upon my pitying the folly of ſome men that can ſmell Jeſuites and Gunpowder Plots upon every ordinary and accidental firing of a chimney, upon this away you run like a man ſcared with the horrour of the diſcovery, crying and roaring out to the Citizens nothing but fire, fire! and if they enquire where, why it began from ſome ſparkles that flew out from a late Diſcourſe, and caught hold of your chimneys. Neither is the Wretch ſatisfied to lay your City in aſhes, but he makes himſelf ſport with your Calamities. And though that ſad Accident is yearly by Act of Parliament obſerved with due Humiliation and Solemnity, yet he turns all into mirth and deriſion, and bids you the next time your City takes fire to blow up the *Thames* to quench it, *&c.* And then in all your foam and froth you ſtand aſtoniſh'd that I am not afraid of the fury of the wild multitude, and that I dare after my late Severity againſt Tradeſmen ſo much as touch the fire, *&c.* What a ridiculous and diſcompoſed rage is here raiſed out of nothing, Pag. 170, 71.

thing, did ever Sophiſt or Impoſtor counterfeit ſuch a mad and fooliſh melancholy, on purpoſe to try how brutiſh and driving the paſſions of the Rabble are? Had I been convicted of ſetting the City on fire, you could ſcarce have raiſed more fierce and frenetick Rants than you have upon this ſlight and frivolous occaſion. The Oration of the Old Fellow (that I remember I have ſomewhere read of, I think in *Apuleius*) if it had been as ſerious, would have been much leſs ridiculous than this your bruitiſh bellowing; when he came forth with all the ſolemnities of ſorrow and a diſcompoſed mind to declaim in the preſence of the whole City againſt a little Boy. And as ſoon as he could for ſighs and groans, begins with weeping tears to let them know that he had ſomething to communicate, that required all their attention as they tender'd the preſervation of the Common-wealth; and ſo proceeds to conjure them by all things both ſacred and civil, by their Altars and their Chimneys, not to let the Murtherer eſcape unpuniſh'd; and having ſcrewed the peoples expectations even to impatience, he was vehemently deſired to declare the crime, that ſo they might attone the anger of the

the Gods, which otherwiſe they might expect upon their City, if they ſhould ſuffer ſuch an horrid villany to paſs unrevenged. At laſt, after he had moved all this indignation, he produces three Bottles broken all to pieces by the young man; here, here (ſayes he) behold the cruel murtherer. At which (you may ſuppoſe) all the Audience fell a laughing then as all people do at you now; only with this difference; that then they laughed at themſelves for being abuſed into ſo ſolemn a paſſion by a trick, whereas now they laugh at you for endeavouring with ſo much ſeriouſneſs to raiſe as furious a paſſion out of ſuch a nothing. But thus have you after your rate of Oratory done my buſineſs both with the King, the Council, the Nobility, the Gentry, and the Citizens; and no doubt but they all take you for a moſt incomparable Booby. I have laid all theſe Articles of Indictment together, only to let the Reader ſee the forces of your Ingenuity, becauſe as they lye ſcatter'd at a diſtance, they are not altogether ſo obſervable to every ordinary underſtanding.

Having been thus ſhrewdly handled for traducing his Majeſties Government,

by

by ſtirring this dangerous and Seditious Diſcourſe concerning the Return of Popery; the very next words you produce againſt me, are, that *for my part I know none.* Was there ever ſuch an unhappy Caviller as you to arraign me of ill intentions to the Government by aſperſing it with jealouſies and ſuſpicions of Popery, and yet in the very next breath laugh at me for ſaying that *I know none?* And if there be none, and that were the deſign of my Preface to prove that there were none, I would fain know which way that can be improved into a reflection upon His Majeſties Government. Both theſe Cavils can never paſs, they run a-tilt at one another, and yet notwithſtanding that they are contradictory, they have the ill fortune to be both falſe; for if theſe fears and jealouſies had overrun the whole Nation, I hope I might concern my ſelf to lay them, without any ill intention to the Government; and if they were cauſeleſs, I might without any impertinence or abſurdity prove that they were ſo. But your trifling in this period I have ſhewn already, by cutting it off in the middle, and confuting the firſt part before you proceeded to read the ſecond; for I no where ſay that *I know none:*

none : but that *I know none beſide the Non-conformiſts boiſterous and unreaſonable oppoſition to the Church of England.* And therefore to railly me for ſaying abſolutely that I know none, and then to cry me mercy three or four pages after for taking me ſhort, is ſuch a Scheme of writing that I dare ſay is peculiar to your ſelf, and without precedent in any Writer in the world. But however this would ſerve turn(as you then thought)to throw odium upon the Biſhops, and that is all you aim at, *viz.* becauſe *they gave the word, and deliver'd Orders through their Eccleſiaſtical Camp to beat up the Pulpit Drums againſt Popery.* That they might do, and yet have no ill intention againſt His Majeſties Government, as I am ſure now you dare not deny, but if any of them did iſſue out any ſuch Orders, I am as ſure it is more than you know; ſo that in you it is an impudent lye to lay ſuch an action to their Charge without any proof, only becauſe (as you then ſuppoſed) it might be thought to bring them under ſome ſuſpicion of ill-will to His Majeſties Government, and whatever they did, they are ſufficiently juſtified. But this is right Fanatique Ingenuity to bring the Biſhops into a *Præ-* Pag. 268.

munire

munire for their zeal and watchfulneſs againſt Popery; you are true *Gibellines*, rather than not ſpite them, you will ſide with Antichriſt it ſelf; the ſlander has hitherto been that they are Popiſhly inclined, but now their crime is, becauſe you imagin'd it might do them a miſchief, that they are the very men that oppoſe Popery: And ſo for Ingenuity give me a Puritan-*Gibelline!* But here upon ſuppoſition of this Alarm you raiſe ſuch a fearful clattering of Arms and Armour, as if the Biſhops of *Munſter*, *Colen* and *Strasburg* were come over to the aſſiſtance of the Church of *England*. And what the reaſon of it is I know not, your fancy runs upon nothing but wars and fighting, and turns every thing into bartels and blood-ſhed. One while what a din do we hear of Duels, Hectors, giving the Lye, Brothers of the Blade, blemiſhes of Honour, Challenges, Quarrels, Combats, Villain thou lyeſt, ſending the length of the Weapon, naming Seconds, appointing time and place, gaining the Enemies Sword, making home-thruſts, and dying upon the ſpot. By and by what a dreadful noiſe do you make with Camps, Magazins, Caraſſes, Habergeons, Culverins, Steel-bonets, Swords, Muskets, Bandaleers,

Bandaleers, Match, Bullets, Powder, Back, Breaſt, and Helmet, taking Alarms, fortifying Trenches, guarding Approaches, marching up into Counterſcarps, ranging Forces in Battel, placing Cannon, ſounding the Charge, giving the Word, falling on, fighting through Squadrons, beating whole Armies ſingle, mowing down whole Countries, killing Friend and Foe, and eating up All, Men, Women and Children. He that came off with Honour in threeſcore and ſeventeen Duels before he was one and twenty, and in forty years more by Land and Sea fought as many pitcht Battels, could not have made a more war-like ſound. Certainly you go (as I have read of one in the 5 *Epiſt.* to *Marcellinus*, for why ſhould not I read your Fathers as well as you read mine) always hung like a Juſtice of Peace's Hall with Pikes, Halberts, Peitronels, Callivers and Muskets. And if you could but victual your ſelf for half a year in your Breeches, it is not to be doubted but you would be able to over-run whole Countries, *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Bohemia*, and all the other territories of modern Orthodoxy.

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from the Government was the manifeſt inconvenience to the State that muſt ariſe from any alteration in the Church; and this I proved from thoſe impregnable principles of Loyalty that are peculiar to our Communion from all other Diſſenters; ſo that all deſign of Change being ſo manifeſtly imprudent and impolitick, I thought it too wild a ſurmiſe for the Wiſdome of the Government, unleſs it were not only trinkled but bewitch'd to expoſe it ſelf, and therefore that there could be no other probable ground of danger but from the reſtleſneſs and ſeditious practices of the Fanatique Party, that might poſſibly ſome time or other make way for the return of Popery by making diſturbances in Church and State. And to this purpoſe I gave a large Character of the peculiar *Genius*, and the diſtinguiſhing principles of the Church of *England* from the *Gibelline* Faction. But it ſeems you do not like my Characters; and what is that to me, am I obliged to juſtifie them becauſe ſuch *Jack-Gentlemen* as you do not approve them? If you have any thing to except, you know the Law and the Preſs is open, but your bare diſlike will no where paſs for a confutation. And to tell us that you

you *find on either ſide only the natural effect of ſuch Hyberbole's and Oratory that it not to be believed*, is in a great many words only to ſay, I lye. It may be ſo, but yet that ſatisfies no body. And yet tell me, can you deny the Loyalty of the Church of *England* both in its principles and practices; if you cannot, whatever I have ſaid in her commendation is undeniably true, and then it is you that *leaſe*. Can you deny that the regular Clergy are the moſt zealous Aſſertours of the Rights of Princes, and that they, and only they teach ſubjection to be an indiſpenſable duty of Religion without falſe reſerves and limitations? Can you deny that thoſe Subjects that ſtuck to the Communion of the Church of *England* ever ſtuck to hazard Lives and Fortunes out of devotion to their Prince? Can you prove that ever any forſook the Royal Cauſe in its greateſt diſtreſs, that did not firſt forſake the Church of *England*? Can you deny that the main Article that diſtinguiſhes ours from all other Communions is that we veſt the Crown in an Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy (which is one half of the Sovereign Power) whilſt they challenge it either to themſelves or ſome foreign Juriſdiction, that has no more ground of

Claim beſide bare confidence to exerciſe any Authority in the Kings Dominions than the King has in his? Theſe are the Elogies I gave to the Church of *England*. If they *are ſuch Hyperboles as are not to be believed*, that is to ſay, if they are lyes, make it good; or elſe confeſs your impudence to call them ſo, not only without proof or evidence, but againſt Experience and Demonſtration. And ſo for my contrary Character of the Fanatiques, that too is all a lye or *ſuch an Hyperbole as is not to be believed*, and ſo I am anſwer'd; but if that be all you have to ſay, I am very well ſatisfied too. You had done them ſome kindneſs, if you had undertaken to prove either that the Preachers never taught the people Aphoriſms of Diſloyalty and Rebellion; or that they were never engaged in actual War againſt their lawful Prince by their Inſtigation; or that any of them have renounced their old Principles, though they could never be prevail'd with ſo much as to acknowledge their Crime either to God or the King. Theſe are plain Caſes of Conſcience, ſo that till they have done this, if they were ever guilty they are ſo ſtill. And therefore when you only tell us that *I have dreſſ'd*

them

them all up in Sambenita's *painted with all the Flames and Devils in Hell.* All the ſervice you do your brethren is to inform the World that whoever will draw a Fanatique to the life, muſt get the Devil to ſit for his picture, and if a man cannot deſcribe them without dreſſing them up in *Sambenita's*, I cannot help that; this I am ſure of, that I have not made one falſe ſtroke or ill feature, that I cannot juſtifie to any Artiſt. I am not concern'd how ugly the piece is ſo it be but like, and yet you your ſelf have not been able to tell me one fault that I have committed. I am only ſorry that they are ſo very deformed as you have repreſented them, for I never ſuſpected before you informed me either that they were ſo bad or the Devil ſo good.

But I know what it is that ſo much girds you, though your guilty Conſcience dares not touch it, *viz.* that I have there proved that nothing but the Good Old Cauſe lyes at the bottom of all your preſent Schiſm; and that the moſt zealous Patriots of Conventicles are ſuch as have given the World but very little ground to ſuſpect them from their profeſs'd Principles or open Practices of the leaſt tenderneſs of Religion and kindneſs

to Monarchy; ſo that nothing better can ever be expected from them than factions and republican Deſigns. I know this twinges to the quick; it is ſo obſervable all the Kingdome over that as you cannot endure to hear it, ſo you dare not deny it. And now your appearance has amply verified the truth of the Obſervation. When at the ſame time that you come forth to vindicate the Innocence and Peaceableneſs of the Non-conformiſts, and paſs your word to the King that they ſhall never lift up diſloyal thought againſt him; you cannot forbear to let us ſee how warmly you are concern'd to juſtifie the late Rebellion. "In that the King had turn'd his whole "Kingdome into a Priſon, that many "thouſands of his Subjects were conſtrain-"ed to ſeek habitations abroad, & every "Countrey, even though it were among "Savages and Canibals, appear'd more "hoſpitable to them than their own; "that his whole Reign was deformed "with Sibthorpianiſm, *i. e.* with his af-"fecting an abſolute and arbitrary Go-"vernment; that himſelf and his party "were the cauſe of the War; that the "Parliament took up Arms in defence "both of their Liberty and Religion;

"and

" and that their Cauſe againſt the King " was (like that of Chriſtianity) only too " good to be fought for, &c. And now when you enſure us that the Fanatiques ſhall never rebel, it is for this reaſon only becauſe there neither is nor can be any ſuch thing as Rebellion; for if the laſt War were none, you are ſafe for ever forfeiting your Loyalty; and if that cauſe were *too good to be fought for*, it will be hard to find one too bad. It is well you have declared, that *if you can do the Nonconformiſts no good, you are reſolved you will do them no harm, and deſire that they ſhould lye under no imputation on your account.* I am confident you intended honeſtly, but they are more endebted to your good will than your diſcretion. When your very Apology in their behalf brings them under the greateſt imputation. For this not only makes good my ſuggeſtion (which you would lay by your Caveat) that they are acted by men of Democratical Spirits, but withal it is a ſtronger evidence of their continuing conſtant and ſtubborn to their old Principles, becauſe as they would never be brought to diſclaim them, ſo now it ſeems they are reſolved to juſtifie them, and lay the whole guilt of the Rebellion. Pag. 282.

upon the King himſelf. I know you are a wiſe and wary man, and deſign'd when you ſet pen to paper to *take upon you the Perſon, that is, Perſonam induere* of a Royalliſt, and not to betray the leaſt kindneſs to, or concern for the Good Old Cauſe. But you are a Gameſter and know what vaſt odds a man may lay on *Natures ſide.*

And thus have I more than enough vindicated every page and period of my Preface, and yet the main of your buſineſs is ſtill behind, for that was the leaſt of your deſign to confute me, your Plot was to take occaſion to fly out into invectives againſt the Clergy of all Ages in general, and of the Church of *England* in particular; firſt, as the cauſe of the late War, and ſecondly, as the hindrance of our preſent ſettlement; and then having barr'd them from trinkling with State Affairs, and wheadled the King againſt hearkning to their Counſels, (though you do it ſo groſly, and with ſuch an impudent malice, that it is like ſtalking by the ſide of a Butter-fly, with a face as broad as a Braſs-Copper) you adviſe Princes to a more moderate courſe of Government, and teach them from many ſad examples to behave themſelves

ſelves dutifully to their Subjects upon peril of their diſpleaſure or worſe. I ſhall as briefly as I can conſider your performance in all theſe particulars, and ſo leave you to the ſhame of your own Meditations.

First then, having with mighty exultation of Spirit, and words much too good for your heart congratulated His Majeſties moſt Happy Reſtauration, juſt as Malefactors cry God ſave the King, becauſe they have eſcaped the Gallows; and ſo do you magnifie his Clemency, Mercy and Goodneſs for carrying *the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity through.* But this ſerenity is ſuddainly over-caſt, and you knit your brows, and depreſs your Superciliums, and at length with much fleering, and more reluctancy (for *you are mighty ſorry to ſpeak it*) yet becauſe it is a ſad truth, tell it him you muſt that the *Eccleſiaſtical Part would not accompliſh his Felicity*, and no wonder *when the Animoſities and Obſtinacy of ſome of the Clergy have in all Ages been the greateſt obſtacle to the Clemency, Prudence, and good intentions of Princes, and the eſtabliſhment of their affairs.* Which is to ſay, that the Clergy has not only in all Ages (nay and places too) been the bane of Govern- Pag. 95. Ibid.

ment; but more particularly the Clergy of *England* murther'd His Royal Father, and are more accomptable for His Majeſties and the Kingdoms ſufferings than either the Rebels that took his Crown off of his head, or thoſe that afterwards took his head off of his ſhoulders. But they ſhall anſwer for themſelves anon, we muſt firſt traverſe your firſt Bill againſt the Clergy in general. But who are you that are thus acquainted with the Clergy of all Ages time out of mind, ſure you can be no leſs a man than one of the Patriarchs, or a fifth from *Methuſalem*, or at leaſt *Andrew de Temporibus John*'s elder Brother, you have ſo general an acquaintance with the Clergy of all Ages! As for the Clergy of the Ages before *Noahs* flood I will not contend, for for any thing that I know there might be Biſhops of *Munſter*, and *Cullen*, and *Strasburg* in thoſe times, and I cannot diſprove it but that King *Nimrod*'s Chaplains were his Hunts-men; but in all Ages ſince I cannot find that they have been more cruel than other men. *Aaron* I am ſure was remarkable for his meekneſs and mercy; for though the Grand Remonſtrance of *Corah* were intended againſt himſelf and his *Bran* for *trinkling*

Moſes,

Moſes, and the *Members* of the *Sanhedrin*, yet did he beſtir himſelf to attone the Rebellion, and procure pardon for the Offenders. Though I muſt confeſs his Grand-child *Phinehas* was an arrant *Jewiſh Zealot* that is (as your modern Orthodox Rabbies inform you) *a notorious Rogue and Cut-throat.* And as for the Heathen Prieſts, though they were very famous *Trinklers*, I do not find that they were any great Men-eaters. In my Roman Empire I do not read that they were fiercer *Canibals* of the Race of Man or Capon-kind than the Laity, nor I believe can you prove out of your 5 *Ep.* to *Marcellinus*, that the Clergy were the Authours of *Julian's* Perſecution. But the bottom of all this is, that the Prieſts have in all Ages, and in all Kingdomes been advanced to places of greateſt Authority next to the Sovereign Power it ſelf. The Druids of *Britany*, the Magi of *Perſia*, the Prieſts of *Ægypt*, *Judæa*, *Aſſyria*, *Æthiopia* are a ſufficient Indication, that however fanciful men may fool themſelves and their Countrey with other Philoſophical Models and Theories of Policy, yet Religion and the Miniſters of Religion will have the greateſt ſhare in the Government; and the reaſon is as

evident

evident as the experiment is Catholique, in that nothing can ſo truly and effectually awe the greateſt part of mankind as the dread of the world to come; and therefore they whoſe peculiar Office it is to guide and inſtruct men in their future concerns, muſt and will in ſpite of all the witty States-men in the world have the greateſt reverence, power and intereſt with the generality of the People. And thus though the Authority of the Clergy of *England* be at this time by reaſon of ſome malignant effects of the late war, at as low an ebb as perhaps the power of the Prieſts ever was under any Monarchy, yet it is manifeſt that for all their diſadvantages all of the Loyal Party, Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty that are ſober and ſerious in the belief and profeſſion of their Religion, cannot but have a veneration to their Perſons, and a deference to their Judgements. How elſe think you, could they be ſo eaſily *trinkled?* And as for all the ſeveral *Caſts* and *Clans* of Non-conformiſts they are perfectly enſlaved to the Authority of their ſeveral Teachers: So that do what we can, the Clergy will have a ſtrong influence upon the people; all the preſent conteſt is, whether it be not more beneficial

ficial to the Government that ſuch ſhould be protected and encouraged who profeſs Loyalty and have given no ground to doubt the ſincerity of their profeſſion, than ſuch as have heretofore incited the people to Rebellion, and never ſince gave any the leaſt aſſurance of their having renounced their former Principles (which if they had, they would have done it loud enough) and ſtill as far as they dare venture, diſturb the preſent quiet and decry the preſent ſettlement of the Nation. And this is the laſt iſſue of your Advice to rebate the Power of the Regular Clergy, thereby to enlarge and advance that of the Non-conformiſts; for as our Intereſt weakens and moulders away, it is unavoidable but that ſome others that pretend to the ſame Office muſt gain as much Power as we loſe; unleſs people fall into down-right Atheiſm and contempt of Religion, and that ſets them looſe from all effectual obligations of Loyalty to their Prince, and Duty to their Countrey, and Honeſty to one another; and if the humour grow ſtrong and prevalent, they in a little time grow barbarous and ungovernable, and with looſeneſs of manners, and a general neglect of the publique quickly bring on diſ-

orders,

orders, and for the moſt part diſſolutions of Government. So that this is plain enough, that no State can be tolerably govern'd or ſecured but by the aſſiſtance of Religion. And then if that have ſo powerful an influence upon affairs of State, and over the minds of the People, its publique Officers that have the greateſt ſhare of Power over that, cannot but have a proportionable ſhare of Power over them. And for this reaſon have wiſe Princes in all Ages entruſted them with places of greateſt Authority and Reputation in the Government; and good reaſon too, for if they are but qualified with parts and abilities equal to others, that makes them as fit States-men as any, but then the intereſt proper to their Office gives them a mighty and unimaginable advantage over all. And hence it is that they have in all Ages been envied and maligned by every proud man that thought himſelf qualified for the great places that they filled; and theſe have alwayes ſet themſelves to aſperſe their Government, and to expoſe them to the hatred of the People, by charging all neceſſary ſeverity and juſt execution of Laws upon their Tyranny. The Prince is a gracious Prince, but it is

theſe men that thruſt him upon theſe cruel and ſanguinary courſes, and were theſe bloody Counſellours once remov'd His Majeſty would quickly return to His Natural Clemency, and we ſhould ſee no more of theſe Mercileſs and Arbitrary proceedings. And this has been the cruelty of the Clergy in all Ages, that they have not trifled with their Authority, but have been watchful to nip Sedition in the bud, and by a little ſeverity at firſt ſave all thoſe executions that would be neceſſary to ſuppreſs it afterwards. For if once it gets head and form it ſelf into a Party, it is then upon even terms with the Government, and nothing but the event of War can decide the Controverſie. Whereas all beginnings of miſchief are eaſily withſtood, and to take off one Malecontented Head of Faction, may ordinarily ſave the lives of thouſands of well-meaning people. And that is the grievance of ſuch as you would ſeem to be, that the Clergy have alwayes been watchful upon their deſigns, and kept the innocent people out of harms way by ſnapping the contrivers of miſchief. And wherever their precipitate, violent, rigorous, and extreme Counſels (as you call them) have been effectually follow-

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ed, it has usually saved the trouble and expence of Civil Wars; unless when the storm was grown too great, before they came to the Helm, and then it is not in their power to lay it, that must be done by other men and other instruments. It were easie for them by timely care to prevent Wars, but when the people are prepared and resolved for it afore-hand, they cannot force them to be peaceable by Laws, and nothing can reduce them but beating them into obedience. And these are the two things that may make them sometimes seem more rigorous than other States-men, in that 1. They are usually more watchful upon the artifices of ambitious or discontented Grandees; 2. In that they are more aware of the Impostures of Religion, and understand the mischiefs of Enthusiasm more perfectly, than usually Lay-men can or (at least) will do; and this puts them upon that kind of severity, which those that suffer by it though justly, call Persecution, though it is notoriously manifest to any person of common prudence, that for the most part the offenders are not punisht for their private conceits, but only for the security of the State, in that either they themselves carry on ill designs under

der that pretext, or if they are ſimple and well-meaning, they are carried on by thoſe that do. I cannot conjecture any other grounds you have of charging the Clergy with rigour and obſtinacy in all Ages, unleſs it be that they are of all Orders of men the moſt faithful and zealous ſervants of their Maſters, and the moſt vehement aſſertors of the Supreme Power againſt popular encroachments. This I am ſure was the only ground of the late Long-Parliaments hatred to the Biſhops, becauſe they were (as one expreſs'd it) *the truſtieſt agents of Tyranny*, becauſe of that ſtubborn and invincible oppoſition they ſhewed to their Rebellious and Democratical deſigns; and for that reaſon did the Cabal (that *trinkled* all the reſt of the Members) petition the People to petition themſelves to remove them both from the King and out of the Houſe, becauſe whilſt they ſtood in the way, they could not come at the King, that is the Crown. And this too (Mr. *Trinkle*) is the ground of all your indignation; for it is purely out of diſpleaſure to the *Engliſh* Clergy, that you are tranſported into this modeſt and mannerly cenſure of the Clergy of all the world. And your enmity to them is nothing

nothing elſe than that they preach Doctrines ſo contrary to yours, and *after all the fatal Conſequences of the late Rebellion* will not be prevail'd upon to perſwade the people that *the good old Cauſe* was the *Cauſe too good*. And this becomes your Brazen Modeſty to indite the moſt ſacred and ſerious Profeſſion in the World of all the miſchiefs and miſeries that ever befell Mankind without alledging any inſtance of proof unleſs it be the Clergy of the Church of *England*, and that 1. becauſe they will not be reconciled to a good opinion of thoſe men that have been engaged in actual Rebellion, and yet are ſo far from acknowledging their Errour that they juſtifie their Cauſe, 2. becauſe they do not think it convenient to indulge and connive at the Propagation of ſuch Principles as prepare People for the like Practices upon the like opportunities.

But in the next place as the Clergy of all Ages have ever been the greateſt Obſtacle of the Clemency and Prudence of Princes, ſo are *they not ſo well fitted by Education as others for Political Affairs*. Good now Sir *Pol!* what is the defect of their education? Is it that they have not that liberty that others have to frequent

Pag. 300.

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the Gaming Ordinaries, or make Obſervations at *Charing-Croſs* and in *Lincolns-Inn-fields*? Excepting theſe wonderful advantages, in which you indeed (though very few Gentlemen beſide) outſtrip them, I cannot ſee what breeding other perſons can boaſt of, that Clergy-men may not have as well as they. They are born as other men are with variety of natural Parts and Abilities, and they may emprove them as Kings and other mortal men do *by reflecting upon the Hiſtories of former times and the preſent tranſactions to regulate themſelves by in every Circumſtance.* And though it cannot reaſonably be expected they ſhould have *Royal Underſtandings*, becauſe they were never born with them, yet what hinders but they may have *Gentlemens Memories*, and ſo be as fit for Government as any of their fellow Subjects? and if they are not as fit as Kings themſelves, that is no diſparagement of their abilities, eſpecially when as they have not the education, ſo they were not intended for the Trade of Kings. So that you have ſhewn nothing but the Impotency of your ſpite and Malice to paſs one and the ſame cenſure upon all men of a Profeſſion, when you might with as much truth and ingenuity Pag. 243

nuity have paſſ'd it upon all Mankind. However the Clergy are born capable of Wiſdome as well as others, and then why may they not acquire it too in the ſame methods with others by Study and Travel, and Experience, and Obſervation; and I do not ſee what greater advantage you have made of theſe than any *poor Reader* might have done, beſide being hardned in Malice, and Impudence, and Shreds of Latin.

But ſtill you improve when next to this Remarque upon the unfitneſs of the Clergy by reaſon of their Education for political affairs, you immediately adde,

Pag. 301. *That they have the advantage above others and even if they would but keep to their Bibles would make the beſt Miniſters of State in the World.* So that it ſeems by their Education that is peculiar to them as Clergy-men, *viz.* the ſtudy of the Bible, they have the advantage of all others to make the beſt Miniſters of State in the World; ſo ridiculous was it for you to intimate that they are not ſo well fitted by Education as others for Political Affairs, when your very next words acknowledge that they are the beſt fitted of any men in the World. Was ever Malice ſo inconſiſtent with it ſelf? You

have

have an implacable mind to vent your Spleen and Rancour againſt the Clergy, but you are ſo conſcious to your ſelf of Impudence and Diſingenuity, that you are aſhamed of the folly and the foulneſs of your own reproaches, and that perpetually runs you up into theſe ridiculous Contradictions. Could any man in the World beſide your ſelf have been ſo precipitate as to ſuggeſt that the Clergy are leſs fitted than others by Education for Political Affairs, and yet in the ſame breath confeſs that they have from that Education, that is proper to themſelves as the Clergy, the advantage of all men in the World beſide? Yes! *If they would keep to their Bibles, but God therefore fruſtrates them becauſe though knowing better, they ſeek and manage their Greatneſs by the leſſer and meaner Maxims.* Pag. 301. Good Mr. Inſolence! Why not they keep to their Books as well as ſuch Truants as you? This is but a ridiculous and incredible Paradox, that thoſe that are beſt acquainted with the Rules of Juſtice and Government ſhould for that reaſon be under a fatal neceſſity not to obſerve them: But if they are not, then ſeeing they have the advantage of knowing better than others, and ſeeing there is no

peculiar reaſon to hinder them more than others from making a right uſe of their knowledge, then it is unavoidable by the Confeſſion of your own Malice, but that they muſt be moſt likely to make the beſt Miniſters of State in the World. Nothing can poſſibly hinder unleſs God Almighty after he has bleſſ'd men with the greateſt advantages for Wiſdome and Integrity ſhould by ſome miraculous and immediate ſtroak from Heaven blaſt and infatuate all their Counſels. Why! rather than fail of your ſpite to the Clergy, he ſhall come down as he did at the building of *Babel*, to confound all the contrivances of Church-men. For *truly I think the reaſon that God does not bleſs them in Affairs of State is becauſe he never intended them for that Employment.* Good Mr. Secretary! is there nothing can eſcape your knowledge? Are you not content to be admitted into the Privacy of Kings, but you muſt be God Almighties *Colbert*, underſtand all the intrigues of his Providence, and be of the Cabinet Council to the Moſt high? Is it not enough that you are acquainted with the King all over; you have obſerved his parts, and given an account of his memory and underſtanding, you have kept him company,

Pag. 301.

and

and given him your Teſtimony of the unblameableneſs of his Life and Converſation, you have been admitted with him into his Privy Cloſet, and can tell what he ſtudies, and what books he reads, what he cenſures and what he approves. Great favours theſe for a Gentleman of private condition and breeding! and yet they are not ſufficient to ſatisfie the ambition of ſuch a *Gonzales* as you, but you muſt be *flying to Heaven forſooth by the help of your* Ganzas, *even as I would fly thither without the help of Grace.* Pag. 76. And there you muſt be prying into all the ſecret Councils of Divine Providence, and you can confidently tell all the thoughts and deſigns of the Almighty, and write Gazets of what News in Heaven. Of all the *ſecret ones* that ever I met with, give me you for a *bold one*! No doubt you are no ordinary Mortal, and have your habitation at leaſt in the High Places of *Armageddon*, where *J. O.* dwelt when he diſcovered all the Methods and Maxims whereby God orders the Diſpenſations and Revolutions of his Providence. He is the *Will. Lilly*, (as you are the *Poor Robin*) of the Churches, in ſo much that he is able to give them an exact Ephemeris of all turns and alterations of Weather, and

to adviſe them in all changes of Affairs ſtill to keep on the ſame ſide with God himſelf, let him ſhift parties never ſo often: when it is ſeaſonable to ſail by a ſide Wind againſt the ſeeming oppoſition of his Providence, and when to ſing Songs upon *Sigionoth*, and by ſome ſecret intimations knock quite off with him from any Good old Cauſe or Good old Principles. That ſuch bold Impoſtours ſhould dare to challenge any intereſt, how much more familiarity with the Moſt high! You know that he never intended Church-men for Miniſters of State! You know what he intends! away you wretch! if you have any ſpark of Modeſty unextinguiſh'd, retire into your Cloſet and lament and pine away for theſe deſperate Blaſphemies. The *Ruac Hakodeſh* dwell in ſuch a diſtemper'd and polluted mind as yours! it may as ſoon unite it ſelf to a Swine. *Fatuos & hujus terræ filios quod attinet* (ſays a Jewiſh Zealot) *non magis noſtro judicio prophetare poſſunt quàm aſinus & rana.* Aſſes and Tod-poles may as ſoon expect the Impreſſions of the divine Spirit as ſuch dunces and ſots as you. And yet you do not think it enough to pretend acquaintance with the preſent thoughts and intentions

of

of the Almighty, but you muſt be betraying his future deſigns, and blabbing what ſhall be hereafter. Thus *you dare divine, augurate, and preſage mutual felicity to his Majeſty and the Kingdome from his gracious Declaration of Indulgence, and that what ever humane Accident may happen, they will, they can never have cauſe to repent this action or its Conſequences,* Amen! I wiſh you a true Prophet with all my ſoul, nothing recreates me ſo much as to hear of the proſperity of my King and Countrey. But if you ſhould ever live to ſee this Declaration repented of, would it not be a ſad rebuke to your confidence? I am ſure if it were my caſe, I ſhould never be able to lift up my head after it. And though we have no Laws againſt counterfeit Prophets, becauſe it is rare for any man in theſe Northern Climates to arrive to that degree of Impudence and Vanity, yet among the *Jewiſh Zealots* they were puniſh'd more ſeverely than *notorious Rogues and Cut-throats.* And if you do not pretend to ſome particular enſurance from Heaven, you add raſhneſs to your impudence to be thus confident in your predictions of future Contingencies. For you your own ſelf know *how uncertain the ſucceſs of the beſt* Pag. 162. Pag. 105.

Contrivances may be, for after all things may be laid with all the depth of humane Policy, there happens lightly some uggly little contrary Accident from some quarter or other of Heaven, that frustrates and renders all ridiculous (I should have been so modest as to say) successless, for wise Counsels are not rendred foolish by disappointment. Now was it not possible that some of these little ugly Accidents, that might or might not be fore-seen, might spoil all the success of so wise and so well-laid an Action? And therefore, (I say it again) it was not discreetly done to ensure success so boldly to so contingent an Event. There are thousands of little and great Accidents that it is not possible for humane Wisdome to prevent, that might frustrate all its good consequences, and there are some that my slender judgment could easily have foreseen and foretold. It was possible that the Non-conformists might have made ill use of his Majesties goodness and condescention to embolden their Party to more sawcy and insolent demands. This I say is possible for all the *King has so obliged them by his late mercy, that if there were any such Knave, there can be no such fool among them, that would ever lift up an ill thought against him.*

Pag. 252.

I know as well as you that there is not in the World a more grateful and good natur'd Generation of men in all other caſes but the caſe of Loyalty and of the Race of Capons. So that ſtill I ſay it is poſſible they may forget his kindneſs and their own Duty; and that they will not, I think your word is no competent ſecurity. For you have paſſ'd it but once before, and that with your hand upon your heart, and that was when you proteſted upon your Honour and Integrity your own reading of the fifth Epiſtle to *Marcellinus*. Beſide as it is poſſible for the Non-conformiſts to be unmindful of their Duty and their Obligation to the King, ſo is it (you know) poſſible too for the Members of Parliament to be ſome time or other ſo *trinkled*, that nothing ſhall put them in good humour but cancelling this Declaration or any other Act of Indulgence to the Non-conformiſts. And then that (though no other ſiniſter Accident ſhould intervene) may for all your Prophecie prove an occaſion of ſome Repentance. You know how much I might here inſult over your baffled Impudence, but this is enough to let you ſee how unadviſed a thing it is to be too poſitive in Predictions. And now

to

to return to the Clergy, have you not made an admirable ſpeech to have them thruſt out from all Offices in the State, becauſe they are unqualified for them by their Education and that becauſe by their Education they have peculiar advantages to make the beſt Miniſters of State, were it not that God that has prepared and qualified them above all other men for that employment will not bleſs them in it becauſe he never intended them for it? For a lucky hand at Contradictions you are the man. And had you not thus demonſtratively baffled your own malice, I might have confuted your raſh cenſures of all Ages by the experience and opinion of moſt Ages, and ſhewn that as none are better qualified for State-Affairs than Church-men, ſo none have acquitted themſelves with greater Art or Succeſs; and that things have rarely miſcarried, but when their Counſels have not been effectually followed (as I ſhall ſhew anon in the Caſes of Cardinal *Granvile* and Arch-Biſhop *Laud*) though when all is done, you know the wiſdome of a deſign is not to be meaſured by its ſucceſs. But your inſolence is not worth ſo much Correction. Only look upon our next Neighbours

bours o're-ſea, and tell me to whoſe conduct that King and Kingdom owe their preſent flouriſhing condition. Who were they that brought it back from the very point of diſſolution to that Settlement and Grandeur it now enjoys? Were they not Church-men and did they not do it by ſuch Counſels as you think (& perhaps as the caſe ſtood were) precipitate and ſanguinary, *viz.* when the Nation was divided into two powerful Factions by reſolving to break one to pieces for ever, that ſo they might not be embroil'd in Civil Wars upon every ſlight occaſion, whenever the People grew wanton, or any Great Man hapned to be out of favour, whereas the former Stateſmen that were for the *trinkling* Policy entail'd an hereditary Civil War upon the Kingdom from Generation to Generation, even, as I remember, *J. O.* ſayes the Lord had ſworn a great while ago to deſtroy the *Amalekites* and the *Kerns*.

But having taken upon your ſelf the Office of Vicar General to the Clergy of all Ages, and all Nations, *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Bohemia*, *&c.* you are not content to turn them all out of publique employment in the State, but you would wheedle them out of all the comforts and

advantages

advantages of life, and perſwade them to ſtrip themſelves of all the ſecular conveniencies wherewith the wiſdome and the bounty of former Ages have endowed the Church, and to accept of no *other Intereſt or Reputation but what they gain by abſtracting themſelves from the world, by humility and ſtrictneſs of Doctrine and Converſation, things being beſt preſerved by the ſame means they were at firſt attain'd.* Yes, yes, the Authority of the Prieſthood conſiſts purely in the peoples Opinion of their Vertue and Piety, and their Revenues in the Alms and voluntary Oblations of Chriſtian People, and not in endowments of Lands and Lordſhips, nor grants of Secular Powers and Juriſdictions; that is to ſay, that becauſe the Primitive Chriſtians were perpetually expoſed to Perſecutions and Martyrdoms, therefore bring forth your Rods, and Axes, and Pillories, and Whipping-poſts, and Strappado's, and Cheiloſtrophia, and Rhinolabides, and boil them, roaſt them, crucifie them, hang them, for *things are beſt preſerved by the ſame means, they were at firſt attain'd.* But then (good Mr. *Trinkle*) the calamity of thoſe times was the common fate of all Chriſtian People; Clergy and Laity

Laity were equally involved in the ſame miſeries, and yet I hope no Lay-man is ſo weak as to ſuppoſe that when Chriſtianity has got the upper-hand, and the favour and protection of the Government, that he lyes under any obligation to quit thoſe comforts and poſſeſſions of life, that he may honeſtly and lawfully enjoy, becauſe it was the hard and unhappy fate of the Primitive Chriſtians to ſuffer the loſs of all for the ſake of their Religion; and why then ſhould the Clergy be tyed more than they to an impertinent and unprofitable ſelf-denyal? or if it be their duty to be poor and miſerable, I am ſure it is equally the duty of all. And therefore in all States as Chriſtianity prevail'd Churches were endowed with Lands and Revenues, and Churchmen priviledged with exemptions and immunities; and when it was ſetled as the Religion of the State, the Clergy were every where admitted to a ſhare of the Government, as they are in all other Religions of the World. And indeed who can more ſafely be truſted with the welfare of mankind, than ſuch perſons whoſe very profeſſion in prudence lays upon them peculiar obligations to juſtice and ſobriety, not but that they are liable (though not

ſo

ſo much) to the ſame miſcarriages with other Mortals, but yet if they have better means to preſerve them from unjuſt practices, they are leſs likely to fall into them; for the world is to be govern'd in humane wayes, and though the Divine Providence may in ſome rare and extraordinary junctures over-bear the wiſdom of men, yet in its ordinary conduct of things it makes uſe of the moſt probable means, and gives a bleſſing proportionable to the natural effects of things themſelves. So that it is a pretence only fit for ſuch as are void of all other pretence, to ſay that though Clergy-men are the beſt qualified of all men in the world for the managery of publique affairs, yet God will never bleſs their endeavours, how good or pious ſoever, becauſe he never intended them for that employment. But ſuch is the unhappy fate of the Clergy, that they muſt be ſubjected to the laſh of every proud and wanton pedant, and if there be any man in any Age more remarkably ill-natured, he is ſure to be venting his malice and choler upon the Sacred Office, though in ours every thing can be laying heavy and unreaſonable burdens upon the backs of the Clergy; and as rare a thing as it was in the

the time of yore, in our dayes every *Animal* has confidence enough to bray forth his reproofs of the Prophets madneſs. And nothing more familiar than for ſuch men as have a mind to exempt themſelves from the great and indiſpenſable obligations of Religion to be alwayes preſcribling idle and unneceſſary ſeverities to Church-men; and though they indulge themſelves in the moſt licentious courſes, yet they will by no means allow them the common and ordinary comforts of life. It is a crime in a Clergyman to be happy, nay to be a man. And if he will but be unkind and uncivil to himſelf, they will love him for that, though for nothing elſe. This is very hard dealing, and one would think very ſtrange, and yet there are two very obvious reaſons of it beſide the general principle of ill-nature.

1. There are ſome men that dare not bid open defiance to all Religion, and yet have no mind to be brought under the obligations of real vertue and goodneſs, and therefore in excuſe of their own neglect are willing to ſtretch the Precepts and Duties of the Goſpel to an impracticable ſeverity, and thereby they make Apology to themſelves for their own

own negligence, in that it is not to be expected from men of business, and that live in the world, and in the middest of temptations, that they should attend so constantly to that height of rigour and austerity, that (as they will have it) the Laws of Religion require. No, this concerns Parsons and Church-men, and such whose Trade it is to profess and pretend to a greater strictness than their neighbours. But for them it is enough to be solemn and serious at certain seasons of devotion, and to expiate all the wickedness of their lives by doing penance now and then in some childish and unprofitable instances of mortification. People will endure any thing in Religion rather than be truly vertuous. And this is the great disadvantage of the Church of *England* (as to interest) that it teaches men the plain and practicable precepts of the Gospel, such as concern their lives and conversations, and does not allow any tricks of eluding or baulking their duty, it does not feed them with push-pin Orthodoxy and Scholastick Nothings about Faith, and Justification, and procatarctick causes, nor commute Penances and Prayers for the habitual practice of Vertue and Holiness; but if men will mortifie

their

their own vices and passions, joyn the love of God with the love of their neighbour, and endeavour after an entire conformity to the Laws of their Religion, well and good, she will administer comfort to an uniform and universal obedience. But these though they are very plain, are grievous hard sayings; they grate upon mens pleasures and profits, and pluck out right eyes, and cut off right hands, for there is scarce any man but has his peculiar and darling vice, for which, so it may be indulged, men are content to make any satisfaction. And when I discoursed of the Return of Popery I might have insisted upon this as one of the greatest grounds of danger; that men will not endure the plain-dealing of the Church of *England*, but they must have a Religion that will be more compliant with their humours, and reconcile some vices with the hopes of Eternal Life. And this is the main subtilty of the Church of *Rome*, she has found out wayes at the same time to ease the Consciences of wicked men, and to advance her own wealth and grandeur; though that which is most of all taking is, that their Priests whatever burthen they lay upon the people seem to take

the heavieſt end of it upon their own ſhoulders, and take off their envy by divorcing themſelves from ſome of the moſt deſirable comforts of life for a ſtate of ſelf-denyal and auſterity. And whilſt thoſe ſelf-choſen mortifications are looked upon as the main exerciſes of Religion, that ſatisfies the minds and excuſes the engagements of others, in that it is plainly inconſiſtent with their condition in the world, and therefore cannot reaſonably be required of them but only at ſome certain ſeaſons of looking demurely, and with a ſolemn face, and that quits all ſcores. This I ſay is that which makes ſome men deal ſo hardly with the Clergy as to except them from all the rights of humane nature, and comforts of humane life; it is only that they may make them their Aſſes to carry their burthens, and excuſe their compliance by placing their Piety in ſome fool-hardy or ſlovenly trifle that is made peculiar to their profeſſion. And then if they are but naſty or melancholy they are brave men and deſerve preferment. But whilſt we deal plainly with the people, and make no diſtinction between Seculars and Eccleſiaſticks as to the neceſſity and obligation of conſtant and uniform obedi-

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ence to the Laws of Christ, that is intolerable, and in revenge to this severity, they will task us to some troublesome and impertinent drudgery, and if we will not submit to the insolence of their folly and malice, rail at us for refusing to submit to the rules and orders of our own Profession.

This is the first, and perhaps main account of some mens impertinent impositions upon the Clergy, the second is more obvious and easily betrays it self, for if at any time we pursue this Doctrine to its Application, we shall find it preached, and chiefly insisted upon in matters of Right and Wrong between Church-men and themselves. If they demand their Dues, oh Sirs! Ministers must not be covetous and worldly minded, but it seems themselves may be so and knavish too, for so they are if there be any justice and equity in the world, when they defraud them of their Legal Rights. If they renew a Lease, they must abate of the old Rents; for Ministers must be merciful and charitable, and because they must be so, they must for ever suffer themselves to be cheated, impair the Church-Revenues to bestow an Alms upon a Great Man, and commit sacriledge to a-

void covetouſneſs. But alas! theſe are knaviſh and ridiculous devices, fit for none but Sots either to uſe or to regard; as if it were covetouſneſs in them not to ſuffer themſelves to be oppreſs'd or defrauded; as if it were hard dealing to keep off private men from preying upon the ſmall Remainder of the Churches Patrimony; as if it were a ſin in them to demand their Right, but none in others to with-hold it; in a word, as if the meaſures of juſtice and common honeſty were not the ſame to all men. And yet a goodly Caſuiſt of the Modern Reformation, *viz.* from the bondage of Prelatical and Regal Tyranny, has ſet it down for a certain rule of Conſcience, that in Miniſters of the Goſpel, contention (that is demanding their Tythes) though for their own Right is ſcarce allowable. Theſe things certainly are too fond and unreaſonable of themſelves to be ſeriouſly believed by thoſe that pretend them. But they are reſolved to be diſhoneſt, and then it is eaſie to take up maximes ſuitable to their reſolution. Though I am apt to think that in you this Levelling Principle of reducing the Clergy to a Penſion according to the Dutch Modern Orthodoxy, proceeds rather from envy than

than intereſt, and yet you may as well make the ſame propoſal to all mankind to forgo all their Proprieties, becauſe it was your ill fate to be rookt of your own Fortune at *Picquet*.

But yet whilſt you recommend the vertue of Sacriledge to His Majeſty, as he would clear himſelf from the only blemiſh of his Converſation, you do but loſe your labour, and it is well if you do not loſe ſomething elſe. For you muſt entertain a very mean opinion of his wiſdome and underſtanding, if you think he can be ſo weak and unwary as to be wheadled to diveſt himſelf of one of the ſtrongeſt and beſt ſecurities of his Crown. For whilſt all Eccleſiaſtical Dignities are held immediately of that, all that enjoy them are engaged as well by Intereſt as Duty to its Service; whereby the Prince keeps that part of the Nation at his own Devotion, that ordinarily keep the greateſt part of it at theirs: Whereas if theſe Preferments were alienated, and the Clergy forced to depend more upon the Charity and Contributions of the People, they would lye under ſome ſhrewd temptations (I mean as many of them, whoſe Conſciences are not touched with any high ſenſe of Honour and Loyalty,

and men that are poor and despicable are not wont much to regard those vertues) to carry on any design to please their proud Masters. And of this our late Rebellion affords a very remarkable instance, in which none were more conspicuous for Loyalty than the Dignified Clergy, and none greater Incendiaries than the Mercenary Preachers and Lecturers, who subsisted purely by the Benevolence and arbitrary Pensions of the People. All this is so infinitely plain and obvious, that whoever thinks our Governours capable of any such designs, must first have so mean an opinion of their Wisdom and Abilities, as to think that they have no more wit than directly to weaken and enervate their own interest. Neither can I think so dishonourably of the People of the Nation (Gamesters only excepted) as to imagine that they should desire the dissolution of the Churches Patrimony; seeing it is a publique inheritance, and of equal advantage to all, in that the Ecclesiastical Demesns are not confined to a Tribe or a Family, nor entail'd upon the Men but the Service, so that every man has liberty to participate the publique benefit, and here is an handsome provision for any man, that

will

will render himſelf capable of it, and there is no Gentleman but may, and ordinarily does, diſpoſe of one Son to the Church, as well as a ſecond to the Law, and a third to Merchandiſe, whereas if it were preyed upon and devoured by hungry Gameſters, there are few families but would ſuffer loſs as well as the preſent Poſſeſſors. At leaſt you may much more reaſonably envy the Old Gentlemen of *Suttons* Hoſpital than the Dignified Clergy, becauſe that is a proviſion for Perſons after they are grown uſeleſs and unſerviceable in the world, whereas the Dignities of the Church ſerve to reward and encourage the induſtry of ſuch as are of all men the moſt neceſſary and uſeful to the Common-wealth. And yet ſo unconceivably ſpiteful is the envy of the Fanatique *Hirelings*, that becauſe themſelves are maintain'd upon the Alms, and out of the baskets of their followers, labour to raiſe the peoples indignation againſt all Eccleſiaſtical Revenues; inſomuch that if any of them have at any time a mind to exerciſe their zeal and malice, they fall a whetting their claws upon Gowns and Caſſocks; and to be alwayes inveighing againſt any comfortable ſubſiſtence of the Clergy, is the

most undoubted symptom and discovery of a Zealous Brother. And every Mechanick, that for his parts and education is qualified for nothing higher than the Clerks and the Sextons Office, to tune Psalms or dig graves, thinks much of the Doctors Allowance as wanton and superfluous, though it be short of the Returns of his own mean and small-ware Trade. And when an ingenious Person has spent his Youth, and too often his Estate to fit himself for this Sacred Employment, this is a great encouragement, and a doughty reward for one of an ingenuous and learned education to be trampled upon by every illiterate and conceited Clown. And though these men are not much to be admired for their manners and ingenuity upon any account, yet their barbarity shews it self in nothing more shamelessly than this insolence towards men so infinitely their betters by the right both of their parts and their breeding. This is a rudeness peculiar to themselves from all other Savages in the world beside. And though we rake the East and the West Indies, there are no People so prodigiously fall'n from all sense of humanity and civil manners, as to think their Priesthood the most plausible

ſible Object, upon which they can wreck their Spite and Malice; much leſs to think it an Argument of their Saint-ſhip and acceptance with their Gods to affront and vilifie the Officers of their ſacred Rites.

But as for your ſuggeſting to the King his right of aſſuming Church-revenues, I muſt confeſs it is very kindly and obligingly offer'd, and firſt like ſo great a Patron of the Church of *England*, that it even *joys your heart to hear any thing well ſaid of her*, and ſecondly like ſo great a Patriot of the Subjects Liberties, that out of pure love to mankind admoniſhes Kings not only to preſerve their Rights but to yield to their Infirmities. Now whatever Liberties the Subject may claim, they are all founded upon ſuch Grants of Princes or ſuch Laws of Propriety as are at leaſt confirm'd and ratified by Royal Aſſent. And then if you look into the moſt ancient and (as the Lawyers inform us) fundamental Conſtitutions of this Realm, I believe you will ſcarce find any other Liberties of the Subject ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd, as the Rights and Immunities of the Church; ſo that by the ſame right and with the ſame honeſty that you fancy the King may ſeize

its

its revenues, he may as well chalenge any mans Inheritance; nay, and reassume all the Demesnes of the Kingdome to the use of the Crown. So that whatsoever Liberties the Subjects of *England* may or do claim, this suggestion subverts them all, cancels all Propriety, and throws up every mans Estate into the hands of his supreme Landlord. Had it not been for the unfortunate adventure at Picquet, I am apt to believe you would have as little approved this Doctrine as your Neighbours. And it cannot but be so edifying with the Nobility and Gentry, that the Parliament will no doubt at the next Session think themselves obliged to see you sufficiently *trinkled* for your good advice.

But 'tis time to have done with your censure of the Clergy of all former Ages and all foreign Churches, and I will say no more in their behalf, because my age has not given me leave to be acquainted with the Patriarchs that lived either before or immediately after the Flood, nor my Travels with the Bishops of *Munster*, *Cullen*, and *Strasburgh*. But your Malice rises against the Clergy of our own Age and Nation, and for their sakes is it that you have bestowed this obliging

Character

Character upon the Clergy of all former Ages. And here that you may not be miſtaken, you begin with much circumſpection, your *Oratio expurgatoria* to the *Body of the Engliſh Clergy, who have been ever ſince the Reformation of the moſt eminent for Divinity and Piety in all Chriſtendome.* Pag. 237. Though by the way I preſume you mean not *Hugh Peters* for his Piety becauſe he was hanged, nor *J. O.* for his Divinity becauſe he deſerves it, nor the Biſhops for either, becauſe you eſteem them, as you would have us, no part of the body of the Engliſh Clergy. But whoever is meant, be ſure there is miſchief at hand, and it is near breaking out, for a Jacal does not more naturally attend a Lyon, nor Murther follow a Long-Parliament Faſt, than malice does your moſt ſolemn and ſweet-lip'd Apologies. And thus out it comes. *Thoſe you intend are only a particular Bran of perſons, who will in ſpite of Fate be accounted the Church of* England, men *that to encreaſe their own Splendour, care not though they ſet all on flame about* them; men *that have deveſted themſelves of all Humanity and all good manners*; men *that would never endure any Overture towards the Peace of the Church and Nation wherein they lived*; Pag. 238, 9, 40.

laſtly,

laſtly, men *that have always been for the moſt precipitate, bruſh, and ſanguinary Counſels.* Now though the Character agree well enough, and you have ever been a deep Youth, yet I cannot think you intend either *Hugh Peters* his Bran, or *J. O's* Bran, or the Tryers Bran, or *Vſſuncle's* Bran, or any other Fanatique or Modern Orthodox Bran; but plainly and ſincerely Arch-Biſhop *Land's* Bran, the Bran that deformed the whole Reign of the beſt Prince that ever weilded Engliſh Scepter, the Bran of Ceremonies, and the Bran of Arminianiſm, in ſhort the Bran that will not depart from the Church as 'tis by Law eſtabliſh'd only to ſave the credit of ſome *ſturdy Swiſs* that will not conform; for that is your only charge againſt them that they will not be brought to temper and moderation, nor make the leaſt abatement to bring the honeſt Preſbyterians off with ſome little reputation. But your meaning is better to be underſtood by the Apologies you make to the Church of *England* it ſelf. She has not a more dutiful and devout child than you, you cannot name her but you are immediately upon your knees, and begging her Bleſſing.

Pag. 270. And it even *joys your heart to hear any thing*

thing well ſaid of her, and as it is by Law eſtabliſh'd has ſuch a ſtock of ſolid and deſerved Reputation, that you could even weep for joy. And yet are you all this while moſt lovingly inveighing againſt her legal Eſtabliſhments; Her three Ceremonies you will not endure for all the World, becauſe they are (you know) *as it were Sacraments*, and that becauſe they want nothing of a Sacramental Nature but a Sacramental Nature, and ſo are (as you know too) a kind of Antiſacraments. And *ſo obtruded upon the Church that without condeſcending to theſe additional inventions, no man is to be admitted to partake of the true Sacraments which were of Chriſts appointing.* A dutiful expreſſion of your obedience to the Church as eſtabliſh'd by Law, that ſhe Tyrannically obtrudes Antiſacraments to the prejudice of Chriſts own true Sacraments, than which worſe need not be ſaid of the moſt Antichriſtian Church in the World. And thus the Commiſſioners of the *Worceſter*-houſe Conference obſtructed his Majeſties felicity and the Nations ſettlement, becauſe they thought it reaſonable and convenient to ſtick to the preſent eſtabliſhments of the Church till ſome proof of their unlawfulneſs was pro-

Pag. 219.

duced;

duced; and because, when none could be produc'd, they would not condescend to that temper and moderation, as to change all her Constitutions without any other reasonable Motive than to salve the reputation of the Presbyterians, they must be branded for cunning and revengeful men. And good reason too, because the Non-
Pag. 275. conformists *demand nothing, but what is so far from doing us any harm, that it would only make us better.* And yet all their demands are against our legal Establishments; of which your worship is so enamour'd. And as for the Act of Uniformity, and that superfœtation of Acts that followed after it, though they were all establish'd by Law, yet were they procured by trinkling, nay by Bishops trinkling, and for that reason serve only to *expose the Wisdome of King and Parliament to after Ages.* Another special commendation of the Church of *England* as *by Law establish'd*, that its Legal Establishments are so foolish as to be a perpetual Testimony of the Law-makers Folly. Find me out a Fanatique in *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Bohemia*, *Scotland*, *Geneva*, Pin-makers Hall, *J. O's* Congregation, that may not boast his deep respect and reverence to the Church

of

of *England* upon as good Terms as your ſelf. So that it is plain here you did but *Perſonam induere* of an honeſt Zealot, for ſay what you will you muſt and ſhall know, that all Zealots are not Rogues and Cut-throats. And after all your counterfeit reverence you mean no body elſe by this *particular Bran* than the Biſhops and the Clergy of the Church of *England* as 'tis by Law eſtabliſh'd. Upon them it is that you diſpenſe forth this ſweet Character with ſo much bounty, and in the very ſpirit of meekneſs.

And in the firſt place Arch-biſhop *Laud* cannot lye quiet in his Grave, but after a great many fair and foul words as conſiſtent with themſelves as the reſt of your Book, you are pleaſed at length to ſcore all the miſcarriages of the late Kings Reign, and all the miſeries of the late War upon his head and Conſcience. I ſuppoſe becauſe *he was a man ſo learned, ſo pious, ſo wiſe, ſo ſtudious to do both God and his Majeſty good ſervice*, you thought he was better able to bear it than ſome others whoſe reputation was not altogether ſo clear and unqueſtionable. But poor Biſhop *Laud!* this is hard meaſure, that when never any man's Innocence clear'd it ſelf ſo gallantly from all the af-

ſaults

faults of Malice and Calumny, his venerable ashes should be thus insolently arraign'd by every bold and Fanatique Blockhead. For notwithstanding the vigour and activity of his mind, his zeal for the settlement and prosperity of the Church, his care to reduce Religion to sober and justifiable Principles, his Interest in the Kings favour and Counsels, yet was he so wise and so pious in the conduct of all his affairs; that when he was devested of all Power and Protection, when he was exposed to the violence and outrage of the people, when Calumny was let loose upon him, when he was treated not only without mercy but justice and common civility, when Libels and Petitions against him were rewarded, when tumults and clamours were invited, when he was even overwhelm'd with the number of Slanders, Jealousies, and Accusations, when he was prosecuted by some with the utmost Fraud and Artifice, by others with an unheard of malice and violence; when his Murther was decreed with an absolute Doom before his Trial; when his impeachment was drawn up in the most heinous and aggravating terms, when the Evidence was managed with an unusual vehemence

and

and animosity; yet after all this his Innocence appear'd so clear, and his Integrity so unblemish'd, that not only his Judges but his very enemies were convinced and ashamed of their own Accusations. For when the particular Articles of his Charge came to be examined, they proved after the expence of a great deal of time, and wit, and eloquence so trifling and silly, that they durst not venture to proceed any farther against him in way of legal Tryal, and so were forced to condemn him (and he was the first and last that was ever so condemned) by Ordinance of Parliament without any other Formality than bringing him once to the Commons Bar, for fashion sake, that he might not be condemn'd unseen as he was unhear'd; but condemn'd he was for no other Crime than that of cumulative Treason, that is what you please, and by this Impudence they might take away the life of any innocent man, if either they hated him, or he liked not them. But the Remarque that his Historian has made upon the review of all their proceedings against him is so just and observable, that all Circumstances consider'd, it will appear the highest Act of Malice and Impudence that ever was

before committed (for ſince it has been outdone) by any Age and under any Government in the World. *Viz.* "That "as the predominant Party in the united "Provinces, to bring about their ends "in the death of *Barnevelt*, ſubverted "all thoſe fundamental Laws of the Belgick Liberty for maintenance whereof "they took up Arms againſt *Philip* the "ſecond: So the Contrivers of this miſchief had violated all the fundamental "Laws of the Engliſh Government, for "maintenance whereof they had pretended to take up Arms againſt the King. "It was (ſaid they) a fundamental Law "of the Engliſh Government, and the "firſt Article in the *Magna Charta*, *that "the Church of* England *ſhall be free, and "ſhall have all her whole Rights and Privi-"ledges inviolable.* Yet to make way "unto the condemnation of this inno-"cent man, the Biſhops muſt be voted "out of their place in Parliament, which "moſt of them have held far longer in "their Predeceſſors, than any of our no-"ble Families in their Progenitors; and "if the Lords refuſe to give way unto it "(as at firſt they did) the people muſt "come down to the houſe in multitudes, "and cry *No Biſhops, no Biſhops*, at the "Parliament

The Life of A. B. Land. Pag. 495.

" Parliament doors; till by the Terrour
" of the Tumults they extort it from
" them. It is a fundamental Law of the
" Engliſh Liberty, *That no Free-man ſhall*
" *be taken or impriſoned without cauſe*
" *ſhewn; or be detained without being*
" *brought unto his anſwer in due form of*
" *Law.* Yet here we ſee a Free-man im-
" priſoned ten whole weeks together be-
" fore any charge was brought againſt
" him; and kept in Priſon three whole
" Years more, before his general accuſa-
" tion was by them reduced unto parti-
" culars; and for a Year almoſt detain'd
" cloſe Priſoner, without being brought
" unto his anſwer as the Law requires.
" It is a fundamental Law of the Engliſh
" Government, *That no man be diſſeized*
" *of his Free-hold or Liberties but by the*
" *known Laws of the Land.* Yet here
" we ſee a man diſſeized of his Rents and
" Lands, ſpoiled of his Goods, depri-
" ved of his Juriſdiction, deveſted of
" his Right of Patronage; and all this
" done when he was ſo far from being
" convicted by the Laws of the Land,
" that no particular charge was ſo much
" as thought of. It is a fundamental
" Law of the Engliſh Liberty, *that no*
" *man ſhall be condemned or put to death*

" *but by the Lawful Judgment of his Peers,*
" *or by the Law of the Land*; that is, in the
" ordinary way of Legal Tryal: and ſure
" an Ordinance of both Houſes without
" the Royal Aſſent is no part of the Law
" of *England*, nor held an ordinary way
" of Tryal for the *Engliſh* Subject, or
" ever reckoned to be ſuch in former
" times. And finally, it is a Fundamen-
" tal Law in the *Engliſh* Government,
" *That if any other Cauſe* (than thoſe re-
" cited in the Statute of King *Edward*
" III.) *which is ſuppoſed to be* Treaſon, *do*
" *happen before any of his Majeſties* Ju-
" ſtices, *the* Juſtices *ſhall tarry without*
" *giving Judgment, till the Cauſe be ſhewn*
" *and declared before the* King *and his*
" Parliament, *whether it ought to be judg-*
" *ed* Treaſon *or not*. Yet here we have a
" new-found Treaſon, never known be-
" fore, nor declared ſuch by any of his
" Majeſties Juſtices, nor ever brought to
" be conſider'd of by the King and his
" Parliament, but only Voted to be ſuch
" (*without Precedent or Example*) by ſome
" of thoſe Members which ſat at *Weſt-*
" *minſter*, who were reſolved to have it
" ſo for their private ends, *&c.*

Is not this right Preſbyterian Ingenuity, to rebel againſt the King only for the defence

defence and maintenance of the fundamental Laws, and yet in all their proceedings violate not only all the fundamental Laws they pretended to fight for, but all the more fundamental Laws of nature and humanity? The Arch-Biſhop was to be murther'd to pleaſe the Kirk, and with his blood was the Covenant to be ſeal'd; but then to proſecute him with ſo much violence, to load him with ſo much accuſation, to tire him out with all the affronts and indignities of ſpite and zeal, to rake into his whole Life up to his very Child-hood to gather materials for an Impeachment, and yet after all this, when they were convinced of the innocence of his actions, and the inhumanity of their own proceedings, to condemn him as a Traytor and an Execrable Perſon, without, nay againſt a Legal Tryal, and then put him to death againſt all the Laws of the Realm, and all the Rules of Natural Juſtice, is ſuch a prodigious piece of impudence as ſufficiently diſcovers what kind of Creatures they were that were the contrivers and authours of his Murther. It is true Preſbyterian impudence. But now are not you a right good natured Wretch to charge a *man ſo learned, ſo wiſe, ſo pious, and ſo ſtudious*

of doing God and His Majesty good service, of deforming the whole Reign of the best Prince that ever wielded the English Scepter; when the very men that murther'd him have left such an irrefragable testimony of his Innocence and Integrity, in that though they had the confidence to overwhelm him with Accusations, yet they had not the confidence to withstand his Defence. And what more ample testimony could they have left to Posterity than when they had taken so much pains to murther him with some shew of Law and Justice, they should at last be forced to betake themselves to such illegal and violent proceedings, as were never put in practice before or after? Is this your additional Civility wherewith you consecrate the ashes of the deceased? Are these your Elogies of a man so learned, so pious, so wise, so studious both of the Service of God and the King, that he deformed both? *What accusatory spirit could desire better play against him than you have given in his Vindication? But however you recreate your self with believing that your simple judgement cannot beyond your intention* (it seems when you print Books you *intend* no body should read or regard them beside your self)

abate

abate any thing of his juſt value with others. And thus you never oyl your hoan neither but to whet your razor, and cut the mans throat whom you would ſeem to flatter and fawn upon. Theſe leering and mannerly abuſes that are ſuggeſted under pretence of friendſhip are much more impudent and malicious than down-right railing. Neither is there any hypocriſie ſo ridiculous as to ſhrink back and proteſt all the tenderneſs in the world to a mans reputation, and yet at the ſame time of your own accord, and without any asking go about to blaſt it for ever with the moſt ſpiteful and venemous ſuggeſtions, and then think to wipe your mouth, and by a counterfeit ſmile or two make amends for all this treachery. And when you have ſtab'd a man to the heart, excuſe all your officious virulence by crying, whilſt you are giving the mortal ſtroak, Sir, I beg your pardon, I intend no harm; and however I may in publique make bold to traduce your memory, yet ſtill *I recreate my ſelf with believing that my ſimple judgement cannot beyond my intention abate any thing of your juſt value with others.* So that it ſeems when you publiſh any thing to a mans diſparagement you do not in-

tend to be believed. It is a Dove-like Serpent that never ſtings but when it kiſſes too; but yet it is time for ſhame to give over this out-worn cheat, it is now too impudent and palpable to impoſe upon any mans credulity, it did you ſervice thirty years ſince, when you dethroned his late Majeſty under pretence of making him the moſt Glorious King that ever weilded the Engliſh Scepter; but you muſt not after ſo long an experience of your hypocriſie and leaſings preſume ſo rudely upon the ſillineſs of mankind, as to think at this time of day of cheating and abuſing them with ſuch ridiculous contradictions.

Pag. 302. And now when you remark it as the great weakneſs of the late King that he truſted his exquiſite underſtanding to the Clergies keeping, it is plain you mean Arch-biſhop *Laud*; and I pray with whom could he better truſt it than a *man ſo learned, ſo pious, ſo wiſe, and that ſtudied to do both God and his Majeſty good ſervice?* Here are all the Qualifications of an able and an honeſt Stateſman; ſo that though the Clergy were not ordinarily ſo well fitted by education as others for Political Affairs, yet it is evident Arch-biſhop *Laud* was, being *both wiſe,*

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and learned, and pious; and this is as great a character as can be given of any Favourite in any age. So that whereas you object it as the great over-ſight and infirmity of his late Majeſty that he committed his *exquiſite underſtanding* to the Arch-biſhops keeping, you could not have given a greater proof of his wiſdom than to make choice of a man ſo admirably qualified to do him ſervice; neither can you blame him for being ignorant that *God would not bleſs a Church-man in Affairs of State, becauſe he never intended him for that employment*; when all Princes were as little aware of it as his Majeſty, till you were pleaſed to inform them. So that it muſt be confeſſed that he followed the beſt Light (that as *J. O.* ſpeaks) *God held forth as the horns in his hand to the believers of that Generation*; for then he had no reaſon to ſuppoſe that he could do better than to truſt his Affairs with a man *learned, and wiſe, and pious*, not being bleſs'd with your Revelations from the high places of *Armageddon*. And yet for all this had the Arch-biſhops precipitate, violent, rigorous, ſanguinary, and extreme Counſels been followed, I am apt to think it had by the *bleſſing of God* been the moſt likely

Pag. 301.

likely way to prevent all the miſchiefs of the late Rebellion. He ſaw plainly enough what the Antimonarchical Faction aim'd at, how they had prepared the People for Confuſion, how they had encombred the Kings Affairs, and that there was no probable way of eſcape for his Majeſty but by ſome violent breaking through thoſe difficulties in which they had entangled his Government. And if the Faction had been convinced by any thing but Declarations, that the King would not bear ſuch inſufferable Affronts againſt his Crown and Prerogative, it is at leaſt to be ſuppoſed that they would never have attempted it with ſuch open and impudent endeavours. But though he committed his *exquiſite underſtanding* to the Arch-biſhops keeping, he kept his own ſweet-nature and *Gentlemans Memory* to himſelf; for being a perſon of an incomparable goodneſs, he was ſtrangely eaſie to forget and forgive the boldeſt injuries; and that was all the uſe they made of his gentleneſs to encourage one another in their diſloyal Practices, till at length they proceeded to demand his Crown; and when for meer peace and goodneſs-ſake he had granted them one half of it, by vertue

of

of that they fought for the other. And as little as the Arch-biſhop gain'd upon them by his *Prieſtly implacableneſs*, the King gain'd much leſs by his Princely Condeſcenſions. They were already reſolved upon Rebellion; and then every thing was an occaſion of Tumult, when they were reſolved to tumultuate upon every occaſion. And though the War be no more to be imputed to the Kings goodneſs than the wickedneſs of impenitent ſinners is to Gods mercy, yet had they not ſhameleſly preſumed upon that, they (though Preſbyterians) could never have had the confidence to treat him as they did. Nay, ſo little did he work upon them by the good-nature of all his condeſcenſions, that they perpetually ſet themſelves to pick quarrels and take exceptions at the moſt obliging words; as for example, in the Bill of preſſing and leavying Souldiers by Authority of Parliament, when he had made a paſſionate Speech to them to move their pity towards the lamentable eſtate of his Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, and to diſpatch their ſupplies for ſuppreſſing the Rebellion, and to avoid diſpute and delay, he offers them to paſs their own Bill (that they were then framing) though

expreſly

expreſly againſt his undoubted Prerogative, ſo it might be done with a *ſalvo jure*, leaving the Debate to a better and more quiet ſeaſon. How think you did theſe meek-natured men (that had they not been forced to it by *Laud* and *Sibthorpianiſm* could never have *lift up an ill thought* againſt the King) requite all this tenderneſs and condeſcenſion, but immediately Vote a Petition (*i. e.* a Remonſtrance) to repreſent to his Majeſty how he had violated the ancient, lawful, and undoubted Priviledges and Liberties of Parliament, by taking notice of any Matter (though it were Town-talk) in agitation in either Houſe, before it was preſented to his Majeſty in due courſe of Parliament, and humbly beſeech (*i. e.* threaten) him to make known the Perſons, that by their Evil Counſels had induced him to it, that they might be brought to condign puniſhment, *i. e.* be affronted, and ſeverely handled only for being acquainted with the King. Were not theſe men reſolved upon it, to renounce all ſenſe of Duty and reſpect to their Prince, that could ſeize ſuch an advantage of diſcontent in ſuch a ſad juncture of Affairs from ſuch a ſlight and unjuſt occaſion? And what way was there

to

to deal with them but by ſuch violent and precipitate Counſels as you impute to the Arch-biſhop? They were (you ſee plainly from all their proceedings) proof againſt all the obligations of goodneſs and ingenuity, and then there is no way left but to ſuppreſs them by force and rigour; and if that fail'd, it was only becauſe the Faction was grown too ſtrong for the Government. And 'tis poſſible, nay likely, that if the King had through his whole Reign taken contrary Counſels and Courſes, yet the event might have been the ſame, becauſe however he carried Himſelf and his Affairs, they were reſolved to purſue their Democratical deſigns, and had as the world went Power and Intereſt enough ſo to confound his Government, till they brought him into a neceſſity of a Civil War.

But the three *Rocks* upon which this Man ſo learned, ſo wiſe, ſo pious, ruin'd the King and Kingdom, were *Sibthorp*, *Arminianiſm*, and the *Scotch Liturgy*, ſo as not to leave it in the power of the Rebels to prevent the war. For they alas! Righteous Men! acted in the ſincerity of their Hearts, and faithful diſcharge of their Conſciences, and were only forced into Arms in Defence of the King, Kingdom

dom and Themſelves by *Sibthorp*, *Arminianiſm*, and the *Liturgy*.

But as for the Story of *Sibthorp* and the *Loan-money*, in ſhort, thus it hapned: In all the Parliaments under the late Kings Reign there was alwayes a ſtrong Cabal of ill-affected perſons, that reſolved to lay hold on all Advantages, which way ſoever Affairs were managed, to embroil the Government, and bring the King into ſuch ſtreights as ſhould make him obnoxious to their Power; and to this purpoſe they put him upon expenſive wars, and when they had ſo done, obſtructed all Supplies by falling to complaints of Grievances, and diſputes of Liberties and Priviledges, and Remonſtrances againſt his Government, and Petitions of Redreſs, that is to ſay, by aſſaulting him with Demands and Threatnings, and however things were Reformed, yet theſe Malevolent Perſons (as his Majeſty expreſſes it) *like Empyricks and lewd Artiſts did ſtrive to make new work, and to have ſome diſeaſe on foot, to keep themſelves in requeſt*, and to be employed and entertain'd in the Cure, chiefly by raiſing jealouſies and deſigns upon their Religion, *a wicked Practice* (ſayes the King) *that they took up not for any care that they had*

Declar. March 10. 1628.

Ibid.

of

of the Church, but only as a plauſible Theme to deprave our Government, as if We, our Clergy, and Counſel, were either ſenſeleſs or careleſs of Religion; with many other wicked Arts and Practices that the Declaration recapitulates, *p.* 8, 9, 10.

But the King being engaged in a foreign War in defence of his Unkle the King of *Denmark* by the Counſels and Perſwaſions of both Houſes of Parliament, with great promiſes of Aſſiſtance and Supply, and theſe being ſtill diverted by endleſs Diſputes about Liberties and Priviledges, and bold demands to abate the Powers of the Crown, he ſaw plainly (as himſelf declares) *That they only made uſe of the neceſſities grown upon him by that War, to inforce him to yield to Conditions incompatible with Monarchy.* So that deſpairing of any good from the Seditious Spirits of that Parliament, he diſſolves them. And in the interval, his neceſſities growing upon him by a new and ſad diſaſter that had befallen his Unkle the King of *Denmark*; "He commands his Council to Adviſe by what "means and wayes he might fitly and "ſpeedily be furniſh'd with Monies ſuitable to the importance of the undertaking. Hereupon after a Conſultation

Ibid.

Ruſhworth's Collect. p. 418.

"on

" on of divers dayes together, they came
" to this Resolution, that the urgency of
" Affairs not admitting the way of Par-
" liament, the most speedy, equal and
" convenient means were by a general
" Loan from the Subject, according as
" every man was Assessed in the Rolls of
" the last Subsidy. Upon this Result the
" King issues out his Declaration accord-
" ingly, but assuring the People, that
" this way (to which he was forced by
" the urgency of his Occasions) should
" not be made a Precedent for the time
" to come, to charge Them or their Po-
" sterity to the prejudice of their Just
" and Ancient Liberties enjoyed under
" his most Noble Progenitors: And pro-
" mising them in the word of a Prince,
" first to repay all such summs of Money
" as should be lent without fee or charge,
" so soon as he shall be any wayes ena-
" bled thereunto. And secondly, that
" not one Penny so borrowed, should be
" bestowed or expended but upon those
" publique and general Services, where-
" in every of Them, and the body of the
" Kingdom, their Wives, Children and
" Posterity, have their personal and com-
" mon Interest.

When the King and his Council had Voted

Voted the Loan, they commanded *Laud* then Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* to draw up certain Inſtructions to be communicated to the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy of the Realm, to ſtir up and exhort the People to expreſs their Zeal to the true Religion, their Duty to the King, and their Love to their Countrey, by a chearful complyance with his Majeſties Commiſſions. And in this was repreſented the Afflicted Condition of the Princes and States of the Reformed Religion in all parts of *Chriſtendom* (ſome being over-run, ſome diverted, and ſome diſabled to give aſſiſtance:) The diſtreſs of his Unkle the King of *Denmark*, the great danger of loſing the *Sound*, and thereby the *Eaſtland* and the *Hamborough* Trade; the Confederacy of the Pope, the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the French King to root out the Proteſtant Religion; the great Fleets both of *France* and *Spain* at that Inſtant endeavouring to block up *Rochel*; together with their Land-forces on the Coaſt of *Brittain* ready to invade us. And what more important Motives could have been preſs'd to perſwade the People to a ready and chearful Contribution? What more powerful and plauſible Arguments could

have been put into the mouths of the Clergy to win their Auditories to a dutiful Compliance both with his Majesties Desires and Necessities? And this among other things brought forth *Sibthorp*'s Sermon; and the man did well, and as became his Function, to perswade the People that they ought in point of Conscience and Religion chearfully to submit to all such Taxes as were imposed upon them by Royal Authority without murmurs and disputes. But if he intermedled (as it is said he did) with the Kings Absolute Power of imposing Taxes without Consent of Parliament, according to the Laws and Constitutions of this Kingdom, he went both beyond his own Commission, and against the Kings Declaration. For what had he to do in the Pulpit with the Rights of Sovereignty, and the Priviledges of Parliament? It was none of his business to adjust the disputes of his Superiours, and he had no Authority either from God or the King to interpose in Affairs of State; his Office was to recommend the Piety, and the Necessity of their Contributions; and though possibly they were not under any enforcements of Complyance by the Constitutions of this Realm; yet to urge it upon their

their Conſciences from the Common Principles and Obligations both of Nature and Chriſtianity, that could not but effectually enforce their complyance with ſo good a King in ſo pious and neceſſary a work. But if he exceeded his Commiſſion by taking upon him to teach the Laws of the Land, and determine the Rights of the Prerogative, though he cannot be juſtified, yet he ought, as circumſtances then ſtood, to be in a great meaſure excuſed; becauſe he did it at a time, when the King could not in the uſual Parliamentary method obtain ſufficient ſupplyes to preſerve his Honour and Safety, but by Conceſſions ſhamefully contrary to both; and that might provoke a warm man to laviſh out beyond the bounds of prudence and diſcretion. And as for *Manwarings* Caſe I need ſay little to it, in that it was the very ſame with *Sibthorps*, only it is obſervable, that his Proſecution was carried on with all eagerneſs by ſuch Members as *Pym* and *Rous*, men that took advantage of ſuch imprudences, only to give countenance to their own clamours; and confirm the jealouſies they had blown into the People againſt the King, by the indiſcretion of a Countrey Vicar: though

if there were at that time any designs of absolute Government, it was to be imputed to their impudence, for when they assaulted the Royal Power with their bold and unreasonable demands, they forced it to stand upon its own guard, and then it was none of the Kings fault if he were necessitated to act sometimes by vertue of his meer Prerogative, because there was no other way left to preserve himself or his Government; in that they had brought things to that pass, that nothing must be done unless he would either grant away all his Power to them, or keep it all to himself; for they would not share the Sovereignty with a single Person, and under pretence of priviledges of Parliament assumed the Royal Supremacy; and as soon as they had Power and opportunity, it is well known how confidently they put in practice the very same courses, which they resisted as Acts of Arbitrary Government in the King; so that if He were at any time to have recourse to extra-parliamently proceedings, it was not from his own choice or inclinations, but purely from the rudeness and insolence of their demands, which were so insufferable, that the case was plain, that he must sometimes govern without

without them or not govern at all. And what is to be done in that caſe the Law of ſelf-preſervation determines. I know this may be pretended, where there is no ſuch neceſſity, but that I cannot help if men will abuſe a juſt pretence to authorize unjuſt actions. It is enough to my purpoſe that it is plain in the caſe of the laſt King, that he never made uſe of his Prerogative till the Parliament began to challenge it; and then he could make uſe of nothing elſe; and the diſpute then was not whether the Prerogative ſhould govern, but whether it were veſted in him or them, and that brought forth the War; they fought for the Crown, and when the Parliament had won it, they were reſolved to wear it, and exerciſed all the Juriſdictions of Sovereign Power by vertue of their Parliamentary Supremacy.

But to return to *Manwaring*, it is a great inſtance of the Preſbyterian Humanity, that though the poor man had begged their pardon with all the expreſſions of ſorrow and humility, yet no leſs puniſhment would appeaſe their fury, but to be impriſoned during their pleaſure, (*i. e.* for ever) to be fined a thouſand Pounds, to be ſuſpended three Years,

and to be made uncapable of any farther Eccleſiaſtical preferment, with many other heavy tokens of their diſpleaſure, and all this only for his too eager Zeal and forwardneſs in the Cauſe of Loyalty, and ſo his Majeſty underſtood it, and therefore puniſh'd him with preferment accordingly, to defie their pragmaticalneſs, and to encourage ſuch as promoted his and the Kingdomes ſervice, though they might fail in a point of Prudence. But as for thoſe perſons that openly refuſed the Loan, and affronted the Kings Commiſſions, and would rather ſuffer Impriſonment than comply in ſo eaſie and reaſonable a Demand, they plainly ſhewed they had forgot that reſpect they owe to their Prince, and that duty they owe to God; who ſo ſeverely requires them to obey, not for their wrath only, but for Conſcience ſake, ſo that it was a manifeſt and unpalliable Breach both of Loyalty and Religion. Eſpecially when it was ſo very manifeſt that the King was forced upon all extraordinary courſes purely by the ſtubborneſs of Preſbyterian Parliaments; and when they had ſuch unqueſtionable aſſurance both from his own Temper, that he could do nothing but what was juſt and honourable, and

from

from his Royal word that he would be always as tender of his Peoples ancient and juſt Liberties, as of the Rights of his Crown and Soveraignty. In theſe plain Circumſtances as things ſtood between him and his Parliaments, punctilios of Law were ſuperſeded. For when it was ſo manifeſt that their demands were diſloyal and unreaſonable; and withal that on one hand their deſigns were worſe than their Declarations, and on the other that his Majeſty never intended any thing but the Peace and proſperity of his Kingdomes, that was ſufficient motive to overrule all good Subjects and ingenuous men not to endanger all by ſtanding too curiouſly upon precedents and and niceties of old Cuſtome. But when theſe men firſt put the King upon his neceſſities, and then defeated him of his ſupplies, and ſo forced him upon extraordinary courſes, and then reſiſted his Authority, and affronted his proceedings, and animated the people to ſtand it out againſt his Commiſſioners, and raiſed a diſturbance and diſcontent through the whole Nation; and all this when they knew his Majeſties occaſions ſo urgent, and his deſigns ſo juſt and pious; I dare determine that whatever they were by

the Laws of the Land, they were moſt notorious Rebels by all the Laws of the Goſpel, though what they proved afterward we all know, it being theſe very men, I mean as many of them as perſiſted in their ſtubborneſs (for ſome of them were converted to a more orderly temper by the mere power of ſhame and modeſty) that were the great Authors and Ringleaders in the Long-parliament Rebellion.

The next fatal *Rock* upon which *this man ſo learned, ſo wiſe, ſo pious ruin'd* both King and Kingdome is the Rock of *Arminianiſm*; for *it ſeemed* he and the Biſhops had in *order to ſetting up a new kind of Papacy of their own here in* England, *provided themſelves of a new Religion in* Holland, *Arminianiſm, which though it were the Republican Opinion there, yet now they undertook to accommodate it to Monarchy*, &c. But I beſeech you (Sir) that are ſo deep a Stateſman to inform a poor ſucking Divine which way *Arminianiſm* is concern'd for or againſt Monarchy. As for its Orthodoxy I have not a word to ſay, eſpecially when it has been ſo ſufficiently determin'd by the Synod of *Dort* and the Aſſembly of *Weſtminſter*, *i. e.* all the *Modern Orthodox* Divines

Pag. 297.

Divines of *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Bohemia*, and ſo downward to *Pin-makers Hall*; though how it ſhould at all conduce to Popery, I muſt confeſs it is beyond my comprehenſion, when the controverſie has been always more or leſs diſputed in all Nations, under all Governments, by all Sects and all Religions; and is bandied as much by the Divines of the Church of *Rome*, as by thoſe of the Reformation. And therefore when you upbraid us that in the late beating up the Pulpit Drums againſt Popery, ſome were ſo ignorant as to fight the Papiſts with Arminian Arguments, you would have done well to tell us the *Ear-mark* of an Arminian Argument. I always thought they had been equally concern'd with other Proteſtants againſt the Pope, and that the Arminians (howſoever otherwiſe heterodox) agree no more with ſome Papiſts in ſome things, than the Calviniſts agree with other Papiſts in other things; ſo that their differences have no relation to their common Cauſe againſt Popery. But to what purpoſe is it to talk to a *Gameſter* of matters of Divinity? For you underſtand none of theſe things but write purely by roat; you find grievous outcries of Arminianiſm in the

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Long-Parliament Speeches and Declarations, and you thought you might ſerve your turn of it as they did theirs. It was an hard word that the people underſtood not at all, *i. e.* as little as themſelves did the thing, only they taught them to hate and abhorr it as Children do Bugbears and Hobgoblins. So that in thoſe days Arminianiſm and Popery went always hand in hand, and if they had a mind to blaſt any mans Reputation, it was but ſticking this name upon him and his buſineſs was done; and among other Artifices to give better Countenance to the Cheat, a counterfeit Letter was framed to the Rector of the Jeſuites in *Bruxels*, in which they inform him with what Art and ſucceſs they had planted here the *Sovereign Drug* of Arminianiſm to purge the Proteſtants from their Hereſies, and to make a Party againſt the Puritans, that were their only dangerous enemies, with abundance more of the like impudent ſtuff, though by whom it was written, it was never yet diſcover'd, yet by ſeveral paſſages in favour of the Puritan Faction it is evident enough to all ſober men, that it was a mere Gullery of their own deviſing. And agreeably to this they were always very liberally beſtowing

ing their ſtroaks upon the Monſter of Arminianiſm. *I deſire (Mr. Speaker) that we may conſider the increaſe of Arminianiſm, an errour that makes the Grace of God lackey it after the will of man; yea I deſire that we may look into the very belly and bowels of this Trojan Horſe, to ſee if there be not men in it ready to open the Gates to Romiſh Tyranny and Spaniſh Monarchy: for an Arminian is the ſpawn of a Papiſt, and if there come the warmth of favour upon him, you ſhall ſee him turn into one of thoſe Frogs, that riſe out of the bottomleſs Pit; and if you mark it well, you ſhall ſee an Arminian reaching out his hand to a Papiſt, a Papiſt to a Jeſuite, a Jeſuite gives one hand to the Pope, and another to the King of* Spain, *&c.* Theſe were wonderful tricks for the deep Worthies of thoſe times, but now nothing but an incorrigible blockhead could either believe that they were very ſerious, or if they were, that they were not very ſilly. And yet however *Arminianiſm* (whatever it is) may ſtand in relation to Popery, *it was a new Religion that the Prelates brought from* Holland, *and though it were the Republican Opinion there* (becauſe that Faction was there accuſed of deſigns to reduce that Common-wealth under the Spaniſh Government)

Mr. Rous his ſpeech in the Parliam. 1628. Ruſh. Collect. Pag. 646.

Pag. 277.

Government) *they undertook to accommodate it to Monarchy.* And they were no doubt deep Youths that could reconcile a Republican Religion to a Monarchical Intereſt; nay not only ſo, but make that the very Engine to ſcrew up the Prerogative to an abſolute Power. They muſt be very cunning men, and certainly could never have miſcarried as they did, were it not that God is reſolved never to bleſs Church-men in their *State-trinklings.* Otherwiſe I would requeſt you to tell me in the name of *Machiavel* which way the Kings Prerogative is concern'd, whether God Almighty decreed from all Eternity to create ten Myriads of men, nine whereof he peremptorily reſolved to doom to everlaſting miſery for the Glory or rather Oſtentation of his uncontroulable Power and Dominion, and that they might not fruſtrate the purpoſe of his *Good-pleaſure* (as they call it) reſolved again by one device or other to draw them, or rather than fail by his own irreſiſtible Inſtigation to drive them into ſuch practices as might deſerve, and by conſequence juſtifie the ſeverity of his proceedings. Though this ſeems to make very much for the lawfulneſs and the divine Right of arbitrary Government,

yet

yet I never heard of any Calviniſt that urged his opinion in this matter in behalf of the abſolute and *unhoopable* Supremacy of Kings. Neither do I underſtand what it imports to any form of Government, whether a man be a *Supralapſarian* or a *Sublapſarian*, and ſuppoſe he proceed as far as *Gomarus* in aſſerting abſolute and irreſpective Reprobation, I would fain know wherein lyes the *Republicanneſs* of his opinion, and by what *trinkling* diſtinctions and ſubtilties the Biſhops were able to accommodate it to Monarchy. At leaſt all theſe Speculations of abſolute and arbitrary Dominion are eaſily defeated and over-ruled by *Calvin*'s practical Doctrines of Government, *viz.* that it is the duty of the Common people and their Truſtees to aſſert the liberty of Subjects againſt the Tyranny and wantonneſs of Kings, and that if they grow licentious and exorbitant in the uſe of their power, it is then incumbent upon the popular and inferiour Officers to reſtrain and moderate their Exceſſes. One ſuch blunt aſſertion as this is enough to baffle all the dry and ſpeculative Conſequences of notional Decrees; for theſe only ſwim in men's fancies, whilſt there are perpetual or at leaſt too many occaſi-

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ons of reducing that to practice. And though the Consequence is very obvious that if God disposes of his Creatures by an arbitrary Decree and without regard to the merits of the Cause (for so he acts according to the Predestinarian Doctrine, by which he pre-ordains the greatest part of his Creatures to everlasting Destruction, and that he may not be defeated, pre-ordains them too to as much sin as may deserve it) that then his Vicegerents may govern the World by his own measures, and destroy any of their Subjects as they see cause for the Interest and Glory of his or their own Empire. Yet how it comes to pass I do not know, or perhaps I do know, the followers of *Calvin* have always been as eager in decrying Civil as Ecclesiastical Idolatry, and to avoid the very peril and suspicion of it, have every where treated Kings as roughly as if they had taken them for a *Race of Capons*. It were easie to adde a great deal more gloss upon this *hard word*, but this may suffice to convince a wiser man than you (if he needed it) that it had not the least real concernment in the disputes of Monarchy or Popery; but being some Foreign Monster that no body understood, it might conveniently serve

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at all turns for a ſtanding pretence of jealouſie and ſuſpicion.

The third Rock, upon which this man ſo learned, ſo wiſe, ſo pious ruin'd both King and Kingdom, was, the *impoſing the Engliſh Liturgy upon the Kirk of Scotland.* Now as to this (to be ſhort) you muſt know that this very thing was covenanted and ſubſcribed to by the firſt Reformers, when they Petition'd Queen *Elizabeth's* aid to expel the *French*; and was in ſome meaſure put in practice, till in the Minority of King *James* the *Scotch* Reformation was (as all the reſt were) over-run by the *Bramble*, and ſo the Liturgy was by degrees neglected, to make way for the new invention of *extempore* Prayers, in which (if we may relie upon the Kings word) the *Maſs Johns prayed ſometimes ſo ignorantly, as it was a ſhame to all Religion, to have the Majeſty of God ſo barbarouſly ſpoken unto; ſometimes ſo ſeditiouſly, that their Prayers were plain Libels, girding at Sovereignty and Authority; or Lyes, being ſtuffed with all the falſe Reports in the Kingdom.* But King *James* as ſoon as he came to the uſe of his *Royal Underſtanding*, reflecting upon the rudeneſs and ſedition of their Prayers, " immediately as became a religious " Prince,

Pag. 303.

Buch. Hiſt. Scot. l. 19.

Large Declar. concern. the tumults in *Scotland*, printed, 1629.

Ibid.

" Prince, bethought himſelf ſeriouſly " how his firſt Reformation in that King- " dom might begin at the publique wor- " ſhip of God, which he moſt truly con- " ceived could never be happily effected, " until ſuch time as there ſhould be an " unity and uniformity in the publique " Liturgy and Service of the Church " eſtabliſhed throughout the whole King- " dom. And to this end a publique Li- turgy was compiled by the Biſhops and others of the moſt Eminent Clergy, and preſented to the King by *Arch-biſhop Spotſwood*, and being approved and ratified by Royal Aſſent was ſent back for the uſe of the Kirk; though (as it happened) it took no great effect, by reaſon of his Quarrel with *Spain* that followed immediately upon it, and of his Death that followed not long after it. But upon ſome Addreſſes from the Clergy of that Kingdom his late Majeſty reſolved to purſue the Pious and Princely deſign of his Royal Father, to which purpoſe he cauſed the ſame Service-Book to be ſent back to himſelf, that after his peruſal and alterations (if any ſhould be found neceſſary and convenient) it might likewiſe receive his Royal Authority and Approbation. And after many and ſe-

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rious Conſultations with the Biſhops and Clergy of that Kingdom, it was at length approved and publiſh'd, ſpecial care being taken (I ſtill relye upon the Kings word) that the ſmall alterations of it, in which it differs from the Engliſh Liturgy ſhould be ſuch, as might beſt comply with the minds and diſpoſitions of the Scots, and prevent all grounds of fear or jealouſie, and chiefly to avoid all miſconſtruction, that ſome Factious Spirits would have put upon it as a badge of that Churches dependance upon the Church of *England*, if it had been the ſame with the Engliſh Service-Book *totidem verbis*. And this was the Liturgy that no doubt might be an occaſion of exaſperating the Bramble-Faction that were already ripe for Rebellion, and reſolved to improve all diſguſts whether juſt or unjuſt, real or pretended to authorize their diſloyal reſolutions. Ibid.

But to let you into the main Myſtery; the circumſtance that gave life and vigour to their deſigns was the *Act of Revocation* that it ſeems hapned to be ſet on foot not long before, by which the King intended the Revocation of thoſe Lands of the Church, that in the minority of King *James* the Great Men had to the

prejudice of the Crown ſeized on and ſhared among themſelves, to which the Occupants having no other Title beſide impudent Sacriledge and Uſurpation, the King thought he might juſtly challenge them for his own Uſe at leaſt from the preſent Poſſeſſours. A courſe warranted (as himſelf ſtill tells me) both by the Laws of that Kingdom, and the frequent examples of his Royal Progenitors. And this (you may believe) was provocation enough to put them into an uproar, and the People were perſwaded (as I am informed by a good Authour from the mouth of a Noble Lord) that the intendment of the Act was to revoke all former Laws for ſuppreſſing of Popery and ſetling the Reformed Religion in the Kirk of *Scotland*; and this raiſed ſuch Tumults that the King was forced to deſiſt from the proſecution of the Act under that Title, and to carry it on, though with much oppoſition, under another Name of a Commiſſion of Surrendries; a thing ſo offenſive to the ſtomachs of the *Lords of the Erection* (as the Lay Impropriators were there call'd) that they could never digeſt it; but firſt (according to the uſual method) vented their choler in Libels, and then in Rebellion.

For

For though they were ſatisfied for their Tythes to the utmoſt farthing, according to the Rates of purchaſing in that Kingdom; yet this fretted them, that they ſaw themſelves rob'd of the dependence of the Clergy and Laity upon their Power, and of that Sovereign Command and Superiority which they had by the tye of Tythes exerciſed over them ſeveral wayes (as the King will inform you.) And this was the reaſon of State, beſide the eaſe of his Subjects, that moved his Majeſty to iſſue out this Commiſſion. For before the greateſt part of the Laity were Vaſſals by Tenure, and all the Clergy ſlaves by cuſtom to the Nobility. And therefore they immediately ſet themſelves to work the People to a diſaffection to his Majeſties Government, and to perſwade them that theſe were the contrivances of the Biſhops, and that under them there were dangerous innovations deſign'd upon their Religion. So that 'tis plain (as the King obſerves) that before either the Service-Book or Book of Canons, ſo tragically now exclaimed againſt, were thought on, the ſeeds of Sedition and diſcontent were ſowen by the Contrivers of the Covenant, firſt upon the occaſion of the Revocation,

next upon occaſion of the Commiſſion of Surrenders, and laſtly, upon occaſion of his denying honours to ſome of them at his laſt being in that Kingdom, of which he has there given a large and particular account; and this brought forth firſt private traducing his Government, and then publique Libels. And now by this time Sedition was grown ſo ripe and ready to ſeed, that it wanted nothing to thruſt it out, and make it ſhoot forth into an open Rebellion, but ſome fair and ſpecious pretence: They could not yet compaſs the Cloak of Religion, whereby to ſiel the eyes, and muffle the face of the Multitude, for by none of the three former Occaſions could they ſo much as pretend, that Religion was endanger'd or impeach'd: But ſo ſoon as they got but the leaſt hint of any thing, which they thought might admit a miſconſtruction that way, they loſt no time, but took Occaſion by the fore-lock, knowing that either that or nothing would firſt facilitate, and then perfect their deſigns. Now the occaſion they took of fetching Religion within the reach of their Pretences was the new Liturgy. And this produced (I ſtill relye upon the Kings Authority) the late wicked Covenant, or pretended

tended Holy League. Though following the pattern of all other Seditions they did pretend Religion, yet nothing was leſs intended by them. For when they had (ſayes the *Royal Underſtanding*) received from us full ſatisfaction to all their deſires expreſſed in any of their Petitions, Remonſtrances or Declarations, their perſiſting for all that in their tumultuous and rebellious Courſes, doth demonſtrate to the world their wearineſs of being govern'd by us and our Laws, by our Council, and other Officers put in Authority by and under us, and an itching humour of having that our Kingdom governed by a Table of their own deviſing, conſiſting of Perſons of their own chooſing: A Plot of which they are very fond, being an abortion of their own brain, but which indeed is ſuch a monſtrous birth, as the like has not yet been born or bred in any Kingdom, Jewiſh, Chriſtian or Pagan. Of which he afterwards deſcribes a particular Plat-form, as it was put in practice at *Edinburgh*. And thus obſerve it; you ſhall ſtill find a Common-wealth and Sacriledge at the bottom of all Rebellion, that appears under the mask and pretence of Religion. And it was theſe men that raiſed the Tumults, Pag. 54.

and *trinkled* the Rabble into all thoſe diſorderly courſes that by degrees brought forth the Covenant and the War. And it is pretty obſervable, that the firſt Remonſtrance at *Edinburgh* was made *in the name of the Men, Women, Children and Servants, who being urged with the Book of Service, and having conſider'd the ſame* (the Children as well as the reſt) humbly ſhew, *&c.* Theſe were followed by the Burghours, and the Burghours by the Gentry and Nobility. And ſo at length did the Scotch-war break out, in which the Liturgy was no more concern'd than the Children of *Edinburgh*, whoſe tender Conſciences (it ſeems) were offended at it, though in truth they deſerved to be ſoundly whipt for beginning a War for the Cauſe, when the Cauſe was *too good to be fought for.*

And now conſider whether you had not been better adviſed to let this buſineſs of the War alone, when you can no other way bring your Clients off with reputation, unleſs the King will be content to ſuffer Himſelf, his Royal Father, and his Loyal Subjects to be impeach'd of their Rebellion? For the blame of it muſt light ſomewhere; and therefore if the Covenanters Cauſe were *too good to be*

be fought for; as little Logick as I underſtand, I underſtand ſo much, that then the Kings was too bad to be fought for; and that is enough for one Concluſion. But whatever was the occaſion of the War, whether the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Vicar of *Brackley*, as you will have it; or *Ignoramus* and Mr. *Selden* as a ſecond concludes; or the Schoolmen and the Univerſities as a third obſerves; whether (I ſay) any or all of theſe accidents might contribute to it, I am not concern'd, becauſe occaſions of miſchief are unaccountable for their being ſo, in that men that have a mind to it may make any thing an *Occaſion*, and yet ſtill the occaſion ſhall be as innocent as (I believe) the Children of *Edinburgh* were: But if inſtead of the *Occaſion* you deſire to be ſatisfied in the cauſe of the War, ſeeing you have been at ſo much pains in tranſcribing an huge Gazet *to give me ſatisfaction*, I think my ſelf at leaſt a little obliged to give you my opinion, and if that be not ſufficient to ſatisfie you, I ſhall only adviſe you to take heed of being too inquiſitive, for aſſure your ſelf your Party will have but little reaſon to con you any thanks for demanding any farther ſatisfaction. *Impri-* Pag. 280.

this then it hapned in this War (as it does in all others) that there were some general Causes that were set on work by some particular Circumstances. As,

1. The unusual ignorance of the Common People concerning their Duty and Obligation to the Government, every man supposing himself as much Master of his own Estate, as if he had lived out of all Society; and expecting that the King should be able to maintain the Common Safety without his particular Contribution, and this (you may easily imagine) makes them apt to murmur and tumultuate in all such straits and necessities of the State as require Money and Taxes.

2. The seditiousness of Persons of broken and shatter'd fortunes, and as there are great numbers of such at all times, so are they alwayes with the formost to promote Disturbances in all States, because it is very possible they may make their Condition better, but impossible they should ever make it worse.

3. The great numbers of well-meaning men, that are usually carried down with the stream, so that though possibly they were never disobliged at Court, nor infected with Seditious Principles against the State, nor addicted to Fanatique Factions

ctions againſt the Church; yet are eaſily over-born with the noiſe of a whole Kingdom to joyn with that Party that pretends with moſt confidence to zeal for the publique good. Theſe with many others are the Materials and common Principles of all Rebellion, but they never or very rarely come into action, unleſs they are put upon it by ſome other particular and emergent Cauſes. And theſe were plainly

The Inſolence and Seditiouſneſs of the Preſbyteran Preachers; for it ſeems the Clergy of all Parties as well as all Ages can be miſchievous enough, becauſe thoſe that can do moſt good may for the ſame reaſon do moſt harm, and therefore it is as ordinary for ſome to *obſtruct the Clemency of Subjects* as it is for others to *obſtruct the Clemency of Kings*. Now it is certain theſe men had gain'd a mighty eſteem and reverence with the People, partly by the confidence of their pretences, ſtiling themſelves Gods Ambaſſadours, and chalenging as much ſubmiſſion to their Doctrines, as if they had wrought Miracles, or produced written Credentials from Heaven; partly by the vehemence of their tone and geſture, and the particular manner of acting their Ser-

mons;

mons; but chiefly by the ſubject matter of their popular diſcourſes, in which they were alwayes very ſparing of their reproofs againſt the gainful vices of tradeſmen, ſuch as fraud, cozening, and covetouſneſs; and on the contrary very prodigal of their declamations and ſuggeſtions againſt ſuch miſcarriages as were proper to the Government: And by inveighing perpetually againſt oppreſſion, they ſeem'd to take part with the People againſt their Superiours. But that which gave them more Authority than all this over their minds, was a certain way they had got of raiſing unreaſonable and unavoidable troubles of Conſcience, by which means they continually kept great multitudes of well-meaning perſons in perfect ſlavery and ſubjection to their own good-pleaſure. Now by the advantage of all theſe Artifices it was eaſie for them to infuſe any poyſon into the minds of their Proſelytes. And what Principles they taught them in reference to the eſtabliſh'd Government, they are ſo vulgarly known, and ſo ſufficiently recorded, that I ſuppoſe it is now very ſuperfluous to inform the world: It is enough that there is not one Aphoriſm of miſchief and rebellion, that they did not impoſe

poſe upon the People under the obligation of a Chriſtian duty; as it is largely and diſtinctly proved out of their own words in the Book of *dangerous Poſitions and Proceedings*, that is an exact Collection of all the Treaſon in the world. Do but read it over, and then tell me what peaceable and orderly Subjects they are like to prove, whoſe Conſciences are acted by ſuch lewd and deſperate Principles. But though the Puritan Preachers from their very beginning never ſpared themſelves nor their lungs againſt their Governours; yet under the late Kings Reign by reaſon of the remiſs Government of Arch-biſhop *Abbot*, they became more bold and boyſterous than ever, and eſpecially when they perceived his Majeſty ſo ſincerely addicted to the Church of *England*, and ſo reſolutely bent to reduce all Factious Diſſenters to order and obedience, they began to think the cauſe brought to its laſt gaſp, if he proceeded without check to his deſigns; and therefore they beſtir themſelves, and thraſh the Pulpits to exaſperate the People againſt the Government of the Church, and inveigh in the coarſeſt and moſt bitter expreſſions againſt that of the State. And thus by the zeal and madneſs

neſs of theſe men, were the People at length preach'd out of all ſenſe of their Duty and Allegiance, and by the perpetual roarings and bellowings of theſe *Geneva* Bulls were perfectly amazed into Rebellion. And that indeed was their powerful preaching to raiſe Armies, and beat up the Alarm to a Civil War. If any man ſhall be at leiſure to peruſe thoſe Humiliation-Sermons, that were contrived to ſanctifie the Cauſe, he ſhall meet with ſuch wretched and horrible abuſes of Religion, as the wickedneſs of all former Ages is not able to parallel. What horrid work did they make with the Word of God? How ſhameleſly did they urge the Propheſies of the Old Teſtament, in defiance to the Precepts of the New? And with what intolerable preſumption did they load his Majeſty with every burthen they could pick up againſt *Moab* or *Babylon?* Their impertinence was almoſt as bold as their impiety. And the People were rarely taught any thing beſide Treaſon and Blaſphemy. And thus were they preach'd into Arms, and converted into Rebellion; they preſs'd Horſe and Foot out of every Text, and then arm'd them with Spite and Zeal, and that (you know) is an over-match

for

for wiſdome and courage. And if the Pulpit were their Poaſt (as you ſay it is) they in the ſtrength of *modern Orthodoxy*, *immoral Grace*, *and Capon greaſe* made it good againſt all Enemies whatſoever.

Theſe were the Trumpeters to the War, the next are the Leaders, and they were firſt ignorant and half-witted men that were blown up with a great conceit of their own ſufficiency in Politiques, that had made Remarques upon *Ariſtotle* and *Tacitus*, that could tell ſtories of the *Grecian* and *Roman* Common-wealths, and begin a Speech with *Sparta* and *Lycurgus*, and talk an hour together of the power of the Tribunes, and the priviledges of the People of *Rome*, and demonſtrate out of Hiſtory, that when *Auguſtus* taxed the whole World, he did it not by vertue of his own Imperial Prerogative, but that it was granted to him by Vote and Authority of the Senate; that he being a wiſe Prince avoided all appearances of Abſolute Sovereignty, that he ſubmitted the management of his Power to the cenſure of ſo diſcreet a Conſiſtory; and ſometimes labour'd to reſign all his Authority, and lay Himſelf and his Diadem at their feet, and at laſt was not by all their importunity to be entreated

entreated to accept of the Empire, but with a proviſo of reſigning his Charge, as ſoon as ever he had ſetled the Common-wealth in Peace and Safety, and therefore only renewed the Leaſe of his Government every tenth year at the petition of the People. Beſide, that he avoided the Titles of *Dictator*, and *Rex* and *Dominus*, *as much as a Mariner does a Rock for fear of ſplitting*, ſetting the fate of his Father *Julius* before him (*for he too was murther'd*) as a *Sea-mark* not to affect too great and glorious Attributes, leſt he might have ſhip-wrack'd both the State and Himſelf upon the *Rock* of a proud or an offenſive Title. This (Mr. Speaker) was the moderation of wiſe Princes in former Ages; they had a deference to the wiſdom of this houſe, and a fatherly care for the Liberty of the Subject; They were not wont to call Parliaments, only when they were forced to it by their own neceſſities, to be the ſpunges of the Common-wealth, and by their means to ſqueeze the Subjects money into their own Coffers, and when they had ſerved their own turns diſband them; but to adviſe and conſult with their great Council about the great Affairs of State. We have (Mr. Speaker)

a Gracious

a Gracious Prince, but he is abuſed and miſ-led by Evil Counſellers; we owe all the Miſ-governments of the State, and the Affronts of this Houſe to their Tyranny and Inſolence. And if they will not know their Duty, however let not us forget our Truſt. We have now an Opportunity put into our hands, his Majeſty is engaged in an expenſive War, and cannot hold out without Supplyes, and therefore before we Vote that, let us preſent him our Remonſtrances, and grant him Subſidies upon no other condition, than that he will firſt redreſs all our Grievances. This (Mr. Speaker) was the wiſdom of *Sparta* and *Athens*, and by this method of proceeding they kept the Liberties of the Common-wealth inviolable againſt all the attempts and encroachments of Tyranny. This was the language of Parliaments in the late Kings Reign, and by theſe pedantick ſtories did the ill-affected Members of the Puritan and Republican Faction obſtruct and embroil all Affairs, till they plainly run the Kingdom into a neceſſity of a Civil War. Not that I believe they had all of them any form'd deſign to ſubvert the Government, no doubt many of them were wonderfully ſatisfied if the Company

pany would but take notice of, and admire their learning; and to this purpose the same Speeches would serve indifferently at all times, and upon all occasions, whether they had or had not cause of complaint. And to deal plainly with you, I have read most of the Long-Parliament Speeches over, and though I know you will chide me for calling a *whole Parliament Coxcombs*, yet it is better to call them so than worse; yet this censure I dare pass upon them without any suspicion of arrogance within my self; That they were for the most part no better than School-boys Declamations, that seem'd to be made for no other end than the exercise of Wit and Rhetorique, and the Topicks from which they raised their Harangues were equally serviceable in any Cause *pro* or *con*, such as Aphorisms, Similitudes, and Sentences out of ancient Authours, but as for true reasoning they rarely seem'd to pretend to it, or endeavour after it; in short, all their Discourses were much like yours, and accommodated to People that took Confidence for Reason, Non-sense for Mysteries, and Rudeness for Wit; and a judicious man that compares them would almost suspect your Book to be only a Rehearsal,

hearſal, or rather an Epitome of their Speeches, though I am not apt to conclude that you read them over on purpoſe to write after their Copy, becauſe I know I it is as natural for bad wits to jump as good. There is a way of popular and impertinent talking, that is common to the pedantique Haranguers of all Ages. But they declaimed ſo long upon *idle ſtories* of *Rome* and *Athens*, and little ſayings of *Cato* and *Seneca*, till they in ſober earneſt challeng'd ſo much of the Sovereign Power, under pretext of Liberty of the Subject, and Priviledge of Parliament, as left nothing of Prerogative to the Prince, beſide a little Pageantry of State and an empty Title. So that unleſs his Majeſty would tamely have reſign'd his Crown, and diſclaim'd all Regal Authority, he had no other way left to defend it from violence but by force of Arms. They had already begun to ſeize, and there was no way to make them unfaſten but by knocking off their fingers.

But that which contributed as much as any thing to theſe diſorders was the great reſort of our young Gentry about that time to *Geneva* for *Capons* and Education; where being throughly inſtruct-

ed in the principles of *Modern Orthodoxy* (and there every Tradesman and Lay-Elder was able to inform them) they generally return'd home disaffected to the establish'd Government both of Church and State, and furnish'd with Doctrines of Divinity suitable to their Principles of Policy; and by this means *Calvin* obtain'd as great an Interest and Power in the House of Commons as *Lycurgus*, and scarce a Speech could be made without his *Institutions*, and the distich of *Præter Apostolicas, &c.* And so (Mr. Speaker) though Mr. *Calvin* the ablest Divine in the world since the death of the Apostles, exact an entire obedience to all Princes whether good or bad without exception or dispensation. "So that suppose a negligent and slothful Prince, "who has no care at all of the publique "safety; who is so intent of his own private, as to make markets of all Laws "and Priviledges, and to expose his Justice and Favour both to open sale (*so that according to Mr.* Calvin, *a Prince cannot take money for any place in Court without Tyranny*) "who drains his Peoples "purses to no other end, than to maintain a vain and wastful Prodigality; and "who spends his time in nothing more, "than

Instit. l. 4. c. 20. §. 24.

" than either the rifling of the Subjects
" houſes, the deflouring of their Wives
" and Daughters, the ſlaughter of the
" innocent, *&c.* And though it be al-
" wayes implanted in the Souls of men
" not more to love and reverence a juſt
" and vertuous Prince, than to abominate
" and deteſt an ungodly Tyrant. Yet
even in this caſe he requires Duty and
Obedience from the Subject to ſuch a
Magiſtrate as the *Miniſter* of God. And
to this purpoſe (Mr. Speaker) he has ad-
mirably explain'd all Texts both of the
Old and New Teſtament in favour of the
Prerogative and Supremacy of Kings.
But then (Mr. Speaker) we muſt under-
ſtand both him and our ſelves aright, that
when he reſtrains us from executing ven-
geance upon Licentious Princes, " this
" muſt ſtill be underſtood of private per- Sect. 31.
" ſons. For if there be now any popular
" Officers (*and ſuch he knows there are
every where without an if*) ordained to
" moderate the licentiouſneſs of Kings
" (ſuch as the *Ephori* of old ſet up againſt
" the Kings of *Sparta*, the *Tribunes* of the
" People againſt the *Roman Conſuls*, and
" the *Demarchi* againſt the *Athenian Se-*
" *nate*, and with which Power perhaps,
" as the world now goes (*and yet he*

" *knows the Christian world now to go so*
" *every where without a* perhaps) the
" three Estates are furnished in each se-
" veral Kingdom, when they are solemnly
" assembled :) So far am I from hindring
" them from putting a restraint on the
" exorbitant Power of Kings, as their
" *Office* binds them, that I conceive them
" guilty rather of a perfidious dissimula-
" tion if they connive at Kings, when
" they play the *Tyrants*, or wantonly in-
" sult over the Common People ; in that
" they basely betray the Subjects Liber-
" ty, of which they know they were
" made Guardians by Gods own Ordi-
" nance and appointment. This (Mr. Speaker) is our Case, we are entrusted by God and our Countrey with the Peoples Liberties, and we must give an account to both for the faithful discharge of our Trust. And wherever the fault lyes I dare not pretend to know ; but this I do know, that we have (*God be praised*) as Gracious a Prince as *ever wielded Scepter*, and yet *I know not by what means, though perhaps I do know*, his whole Reign is deform'd with Tyranny and *Absolute Government*. Mr. Speaker, it concerns us to look about us, our Lives and Liberties and (what is dearer) our Religion lyes at stake,

ſtake, let us then take Courage, and whatever it coſt, ſee this licentiouſneſs curb'd, and the force of Law reſtored. No doubt but the King will be adviſed by his great Council; or if he will not, it is our duty to ſnatch him from a Precipice; however we muſt not be ſo *ſlothful* and *perfidious* as to betray the Subjects Liberty, of which (we know) we were made *Guardians by Gods own Ordinance and appointment.* And thus had they got out of Mr. *Calvin* a *Jus Divinum* for the Long-Parliament Rebellion; and under this pretence of being Truſtees for the Peoples Liberties, they plainly uſurp'd the Kings Supremacy. Nothing muſt be done in the Government of the State without their Advice and Approbation, and any proceedings that they diſliked (and yet they diſliked all that were done without them) became immediately illegal, and till they are redreſs'd all Government muſt be laid aſide, and if the King happned at any time to do any thing contrary to ſome idle precedent of *Sparta* and *Lycurgus*, it was a manifeſt ſubverſion of the Fundamental Laws. And thus by this fooling, and the help of *Calvin* came they at length to challenge the Sovereignty to themſelves, and to ſet the

Crown upon their own heads, that is (as we all know) to ſuffer the King to do nothing without them, and to aſſume a Power to themſelves (as oft as they judged it expedient) of doing every thing without the King, and this made theſe Pedants as troubleſome in their demands as were the Rebels by deſign, till they had challenged every branch of the Regal Power.

Both theſe and the Zealots were excellent Tools of Sedition, but they were no more than Tools, the Maſter-workmen were the cunning, and reſerved Members of the Republican Faction. For it is plain enough, that all things were govern'd in both Houſes by a Cabal of ſuch as had from the beginning (as appeared afterwards) a deſign upon the alteration of the Government. And theſe men were able upon all occaſions to form themſelves into all ſhapes and all parties to drive on their deſigns; and it was not ſo much their buſineſs to make Speeches, and complain of Grievances, as to perplex and obſtruct the Kings Affairs, and by any artifices make him obnoxious to their Power, and when that was grown great enough they underſtood their own work. Their uſual trick

was

was to appear alwayes with the firſt to comply with the Kings deſigns and deſires; and when by that means they had brought him into ſtraits, they ſtill left him; *v. g.* they were perpetually putting the King upon expenſive wars by great promiſes of aſſiſtance, and accordingly ſeem'd alwayes the moſt chearful and liberal voters of Taxes; but yet they were ſure to raiſe ſo many diſputes and difficulties about other matters, that the ſupply was either altogether diverted or came alwayes too late. This was the particular unkindneſs that the King complain'd of in all his Parliaments. But by leaving him thus perpetually in the lurch, they forced him at length to make uſe of ſome extraordinary courſes; and then they preſently made their advantage of that, to raiſe their clamours and complaints of Arbitrary Government, and nothing could ſtop their mouths till his Majeſty had not only done ſevere penance, but made ample Reſtitution by ſome ſpecial Act of Grace, whereby he granted away ſome conſiderable Branch of his Power. And ſo they would for a while receive him into favour again, and then anon play the ſame game over again; and by this means they at length

grew ſo much upon him, and gain'd ſo many advantages of him, till perceiving their own ſtrength they command him to reſign his Regal Power into their hands, or if he refuſe, to ſtand upon his own guard, and defend himſelf as he can by force of Arms. And that was the conteſt of the war, who ſhould wear the Crown, He or They.

It was theſe men chiefly that invited back the Kirk-Army after they had agreed to Articles of Pacification, and return'd home ſatisfied with the Kings Conceſſions, and the abolition of Epiſcopacy, that was indeed the pretence of the Covenanters Rebellion, but very far from being the end of thoſe men that ſet them on. Their buſineſs was only to bring the King under a neceſſity of calling a Parliament for Money, and for that he was to pawn his Crown into their hands, and buy ſupplies at the price of his Sovereignty. And it ſucceeded accordingly, for the King having been at a vaſt expence in his firſt Expedition, was forced to ſummon a Parliament for freſh Supplies; but they no ſooner met than they juſtified their *Dear Brethren* (as they call'd) the Kirk-Rebels, and ſo fall to their old complaints of Grievances and

Arbitrary

Arbitrary Government, and the illegal Proceedings of the Kings Miniſters of State; and theſe things they muſt and will have redreſs'd, before they will take any buſineſs of money into conſideration, and ſo long baffled the Kings expectations, that he having no hope of any Supply from them, diſſolves them, and reſolves to caſt himſelf upon the aſſiſtance of his better affected Subjects, and accordingly finds the greateſt part of his Gentry and Nobility ſo ſenſible of their own Duty and Loyalty, and of thoſe affronts that were put upon his Regal Power by theſe men in the late and former Parliaments, that by their own voluntary Contributions they raiſed an Army more than ſufficient to have reduced the Rebels to obedience. But being over-ruled by the advice of ſome that were alwayes too near to all his Councils, and that were no friends to his Prerogative (though perhaps they were no enemies to Monarchy) he condeſcends to a Treaty, and that concludes (as theſe men would wiſh) in referring the whole Controverſie to the deciſion of a Parliament. And this produced the fatal Long-Parliament, that chiefly conſiſted of the moſt Seditious Members of all his former

former Parliaments. For though the greateſt part of the Gentry were loyal and dutiful enough, yet it ſo hapned, that the Commonalty had been preached into malecontentedneſs by the Puritan Preachers, they thought no man a Patriot of his Countrey, or fit to be truſted in Parliament, that was not a profeſs'd enemy to the Prerogative, and that did not oppoſe Taxes and Tyranny: And if any one had been ſo ſtubborn as to deſerve puniſhment for Sedition, and had been impriſoned or gon to Law with the King for the non-payment of a Seſs of twenty or forty ſhillings, that gain'd him the hearts of the whole Countrey; and ſo upon the merit of their ſufferings it came to paſs that the moſt eminent Perſons of the Preſbyterian Faction came to be ſo generally elected Knights and Burgeſſes in this as well as all other Parliaments of his Reign; but now their diſcontent was heightned partly by their former (juſt) impriſonments, partly by that affront, that (as they ſuppoſed) was put upon them in the diſſolution of the late Parliament; And therefore having once again got poſſeſſion of the Houſe, and perceiving the Kings neceſſities to be greater than ever, and withall their

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own Party to be ſtronger and more numerous than ever, they reſolved to appear more boldly than ever, and to make ſomething of ſo great an advantage. And ſo they immediately fall upon accuſing the King and his Miniſters of all the crimes that could render them odious to the people; they charge him with deſigns of reeſtabliſhing the Roman Religion, of ſubverting the fundamental Laws, of ſetting up Arbitrary Government, of laying aſide all Parliaments, with a Thouſand other Clamours and Calumnies, making uſe of every Accident to raiſe matter of Accuſation. And if you will look into the grand Remonſtrance of the ſtate of the Kingdom (that was the firſt Declaration of the War) you will find that they imputed all misfortunes whatſoever to the King and his evil Council. The loſs of the *Rochel* Fleet, the diverſion of the War from the *Weſt-Indies* to the ſucceſleſs attempt upon *Cales*, the Peace with *Spain*, the breach with *France*, the diſſolving of former Parliaments for their ſtubbornneſs, the deſtruction of the Kings Timber in the Foreſt of *Dean*, the Monopolies of Sope and Salt, the Sale of Nuzances, the deſign of Coyning Braſs money,

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the depriving ſeditious men of the comfort and converſation of their Wives by cloſe Impriſonments, Miſdemeanours in all Courts of Juſtice, Bribery, Extorſion, and buying of Offices, Suſpenſions of painful, learned, and pious Miniſters, the decay of Trade, the loſs of Merchants Ships by the Pyrates of *Dunkirk*, with all other good or bad Accidents that befel the Government, were imputed 1. To the Jeſuited Papiſts who hate the Laws, as the Obſtacles of that change and ſubverſion of Religion, which they ſo much long for. 2. To the Biſhops, and the corrupt part of the Clergy, who cheriſh Formality and Superſtition, as the natural Effects and more probable Supports of their own Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny and Uſurpation. 3. To ſuch Counſellours and Courtiers, who for private ends engaged themſelves to further the Intereſt of ſome foreign Princes or States, to the prejudice of his Majeſty and the State at home. Though the Root of all this miſchief was a Malignant and pernicious deſign of ſubverting the fundamental Laws and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Juſtice of this Kingdome are firmly eſtabliſh'd. And then the common Principles, by which

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they moulded and govern'd all their particular Counſels and Actions were 1. To keep up a miſunderſtanding between the King and his people by their *Leaſings*. 2. To keep down the Purity and power of Religion. 3. To bring in *Arminianiſm*. 4. To *trinkle* the King againſt his Parliaments. Where, by the way, you may ſee that you are not the firſt Authour of your own notions; your whole Book is but a ſhort Rehearſal of the Remonſtrances, Speeches, and Declarations of the Rebels. But now muſt all things ſtand ſtock ſtill till theſe and a Thouſand grievances more are redreſſ'd; his Miniſters muſt be impeached of high Treaſon; and if he expected any comfort from them, he muſt buy it with the blood of his beſt Subjects and his faſteſt Friends. But you cannot here reaſonably expect a compleat account of all their Injuſtice, their Folly, their Impudence and their Hypocriſie, when the whole World can ſcarce contein the Hiſtory of their Wickedneſs, I am ſure it can never equal it. However it is plain that they were now reſolved upon the Rebellion, and ſo made demands accordingly. For the ſumme of all their Meſſages, Remonſtrances, and Declarations was only to

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chalenge the Soveraign Power it ſelf, and all the parts and branches of the Prerogative. They petition'd no more than that the King would be pleaſed to betray and give up his Friends to their Malice, as in the Pique of the five Members; that he would deliver up all Caſtles and Forts, and the whole Power of the Militia into their hands; That they might have the chooſing of all the Lords of his Council, and of all great Officers of State, the Government and Education of his Children, the Power to hang Delinquents as they ſhall think fit, and the liberty of excepting whom they pleaſed out of the Kings general Pardon; and that no Peer be permitted to ſit in the houſe of Peers but by conſent of both houſes. Upon theſe and the like Terms, to which they ſtuck with an impregnable Obſtinacy from firſt to laſt, they would apply themſelves to ſettle his Revenue, and ſupply his neceſſities, and make him the moſt *glorious King* that ever wielded the Engliſh Scepter. But otherwiſe if he ſhould offer to relieve himſelf by any extra-Parliamentary courſes it was a breach of his ſworn Truſt, and a diſſolution of the Government; and if any of his Subjects obeyed or aſſiſted him, it was Treaſon againſt the

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fundamental Laws of the Land. This was as much as if they had plainly told him (and the King underſtood them ſo) Sir, it is in vain to expect Peace or Money from us unleſs you will be content to forgo your Crown and Royal Dignity, and to reſign all your Power into our hands. This was right Preſbyterian Loyalty, and is I hope ſufficient to cap your idle ſtories of *Sibthorp*, Arminianiſm, and the Scotch Liturgy. At leaſt I am ſure it is, after all your *Hectoring* and *Achillizing* about the late War in deſyance of the Act of Indempnity and Oblivion, another brave caſt of your Modeſty to upbraid my Inſolence for *ſummoning in all the World, and preaching up nothing but Repentance, and ſo frequently calling for Teſtimonies, ſignal Marks, publick acknowledgments, ſatisfaction, recantation*, &c. For as I take it here are ſufficient materials and motives for Repentance. They are obliged to repent of caſting away an hundred thouſand Lives only to dethrone the King, and erect the Scepter of the Lord Chriſt; a cauſe, that they themſelves now confeſs by deſerting it, as fooliſh as that was knaviſh. And this is at leaſt ſuſpicion of guilt enough to oblige men to look about them and reflect

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reflect ſeriouſly whether it may not lye upon their Conſciences. Nothing crys ſo loud either for Repentance or Vengeance as Blood, it requires the deepeſt Sorrow and Contrition to waſh it off; ſo that if they were at all ſenſible of their Crime, or thought it a Crime at all, they would never put us to call for tokens of Repentance, they would overdo enough of their own accord in Expiation, and by the Frankneſs and Ingenuity of their Confeſſions quickly ſatisfie all the World of the ſincerity of their change. But when they will not be brought to take any notice of their former practices, or to make any acknowledgment of their former Crimes: when ſome of the moſt ſerious and upright of them proteſt their Non-conviction of any guilt, and declare themſelves ſo well ſatisfied in all their actings in the War that they cannot, nay that they dare not ask God forgiveneſs (and yet they did not think the *Cauſe too good to be fought for.*) When none of them have been ſo ingenuous as to beg their Princes pardon, or to make any promiſe of better behaviour for the time to come; in ſhort, when they have given us all the ſymptoms of hardneſs of heart and impenitence, and yet notwithſtanding

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ing all this boaſt the merits of their party and chalenge their Princes favour and indulgence from the great ſecurity that he ought to have of their peaceable and loyal demeanour, this I think is a very impudent affront both to the Clemency of their Prince, and the Ingenuity of Mankind. Eſpecially when after they had beheld all the dire conſequences of their rebellious Acts and Ordinances they were ſo far from acknowledging their folly, that upon the Reſtauration of the ſecluded Members by the *General*, one of the firſt things they voted was to vote themſelves innocent, and to lay all the miſchief and wickedneſs of the War upon their murther'd Prince. Thus far the Preſbyterians and Independents were equally concern'd, but that the Preſbyterians were no farther concern'd, they may thank the Ambition and Treachery of *Oliver Cromwel* more than their own good intentions. They had ſtript the King of his power, they had impriſon'd his perſon, and what had they to do more after all the affronts and indignities they had offer'd him, than what the Independents did after they had wreſted the Supremacy out of their hands? For it is certain there was no living for them in

ſafety if ever he (whom they had reaſon to ſuppoſe their irreconcileable enemy) were reſtored to his Throne and Soveraign Power, and then if they had behaved themſelves ſo that they could not ſafely truſt him, that was an unremoveable Bar to his reſtitution. And though it is poſſible that they never intended to attempt his life, yet they carried things ſo high through the whole Progreſs of their Rebellion, as at leaſt to make it expedient, nay neceſſary for their own preſervation; and if they had intended it they could ſcarce have uſed him more ſcurvily than they did. They cauſed his own great Seal to be broken, and a new one to be made in defyance to his Authority. His propoſitions of Peace and his offers of perſonal Treaty were often denyed; an Ordinance was made, if he preſumed to come within the line of Communication to ſecure *i. e.* ſeize his perſon; It was voted Treaſon and death without mercy for any of his Subjects to harbour and conceal him, and when Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was made General, the Clauſe for preſervation of his Majeſties perſon was left out of his Commiſſion. And in the Scotch Declaration of 46. all their concern and care of the Kings perſon

ſon was only conditional, *viz.* as far as it was conſiſtent with their own deſigns, that is (as they word it) *the Preſervation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdomes.* That is, as you may ſee by their propoſitions that they made as the only terms of Peace, if he would reſign his Crown and (which is worſe) take the Covenant, they would ſuffer him to live; otherwiſe they were abſolved from all Obligations towards his perſon, and for the preſervation of his life. And when he was fall'n into the hands of the Independents and ſo in danger enough, the queſtion was propounded to the Kirk, whether it were lawful for them to aſſiſt the King in the recovery of his Kingdome, and it was reſolved in the Negative, and in anſwer to that Clauſe in the Covenant that was objected to them, *for defence of the King's perſon*, they determin'd it was to be underſtood *in defence and ſafety of the Kingdomes.* Theſe men no doubt are fit to be truſted that can think to ſatisfie themſelves and the World with ſuch an impudent and ridiculous interpretation of Oaths as this. But however they intended to diſpoſe of his perſon, the Rebellion as far as they avowed it put him out of his

Throne, and ſetled all the Regal Power (which they call'd arbitrary Government) upon themſelves. And for Subjects to take away their Princes Authority by force of Arms is little leſs impudent and wicked, that after that to take away his life.

Thus far the Preſbyterians and Independents were equally guilty, and went hand in hand like *dear Brethren*; they both combined to depoſe the King, though, when that was done, the perfidious Independents did not only ſhake off their dear brethren, but turn'd all their own weapons upon themſelves. And thus as they enter'd into *Covenant* in defence of King and Parliament, ſo did theſe enter into an *Engagement* in defence of the Parliament and Army; meaning (as they did) that as the King was virtually in the Parliament, ſo was the Parliament virtually in the Army. And thus was their ſilly and ſenſleſs Diſtinction of the King's perſonal and politick Capacity turn'd upon themſelves. And the ſame Articles and Demands that the Parliament ſent to the King, they ſent to the Parliament, and baffled all their Excuſes by Precedents from their own Principles and Proceedings; *v. g.* Their Charge againſt the eleven Preſbyterian-members by the Example of the Archbiſhop and

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the Earl of *Strafford*, when they pleaded that they could not legally procede againſt them till the particulars of their Crime were ſpecified; and ſo they acted over all the ſame Knavery again, till they at length proceeded to crown all their wickedneſs with the Kings murther. But the fraud and malice, the injuſtice and folly, the impudence and hypocriſie of theſe men is ſo notorious that it need not be reported, and yet ſo unconceivably horrid that it would ſcarce be credited. They committed all the boldeſt impieties in the world not only under the greateſt ſhews of Religion, but by Authority of divine Impulſe: they ſtill ſought the Lord for all their wickedneſs, and they were directed to all their Murthers and Perjuries by his deep and hidden diſcoveries of himſelf to his ſecret Ones: They made no more of an Oath than other men do of a Complement; they would ſwear an hundred times backward and forward to follow the Revolutions of Providence; and the Rump, when they had murthered the King, abſolv'd themſelves by their own Vote from Perjury; it was but voting the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to be null and void, and they were as innocent as if they

had never taken them. But to say all in one word; their Rebellion was not only against the King, but against Monarchy it self, that is to say, against all Kings. And I remember I have seen *an humble Testimony for God in this perillous time, by a few, who have been bewailing their own and others Abominations, and would not be comforted, until their* Redeemer, *who is* holy, *be exalted in Righteousness, and his Name, which has been so much blasphemed, be sanctified in the sight of the Nations*, subscribed by *J. O.* and some other *secret ones.* In which, having *witnessed* against all the Backslidings and Abominations of many from the *Publick Good Old Cause*, and bemoaned the Rebuke that was poured forth upon the Rump and *Barebones* Parliament, they procede to *witness in all humility and fear against the setting up or introducing any Person whatsoever, as King or chief Magistrate, or an House of Lords, or any other thing of like Import, under what name or title soever, or any other Power arising from the Nation, as a Nation upon the old corrupt and almost ruinated Constitution; apprehending that the great Work of taking the Kingdom from man, and giving it to Christ, hath had its beginning in the Revolutions we have been*

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under. And then *positively they do witness for and humbly assert, that the Right of making and giving Laws unto Men is originally in God, who hath given this Power as well as the Execution thereof, unto Christ as he is the Son of Man, and therein made universal Lord and Sovereign over the whole World; and under Christ as his Ministers a certain number of men qualified and limited according to his Word, ought to be set apart to the* Office of chief Rule & Government *over these Nations as part of Christ's universal Kingdom.* So that you see *J. O.* is a profest enemy to the present Government of the State upon the same Principles that he is a Non-conformist to the present Establishment of the Church. He is bound in Conscience to abhorr and oppose Monarchy in pure Obedience to the Institutions of Christ, as *King of Saints and Nations*, having appointed in his Word a *certain number* of Men to be set apart for the *Office of chief Rule and Government* over these and all other Nations in the World. Now I think it is convenient that men who have openly witnessed such Principles as these, should at least be bound to unwitness them, before they are too confidently trusted by the present Goverement. *J. O.* was absolutely

for the divine Right of a Common-wealth but a very little before his Majesties Restitution; for this Declaration was publish'd after the *Cheshire* Insurrection, upon occasion whereof he threatens *to witness with full evidence to the Conviction of all Upright ones against the abominable Malignity, Treachery and Enmity of many in eminent Power and in the publick Ministry*; and then I dare appeal to your self whether it would not become him to recant such a positive Principle of Rebellion as this, before he can with any modesty boast his own and his Parties Allegiance to the present Government. At least if he refuse this when he is upbraided to it, that is an undoubted evidence of his Constancy to his old Principles, and then judge you whether it is fit for such a man to claim a Liberty of publick talking in any Common-wealth, when he is under a tye of Conscience to subvert it. And yet it was upon this occasion that I fell to preaching Repentance and calling for *signal Marks and Acknowledgments, &c.* when with all the scorn and indignation in the World he spit at my bare suspicions of their Loyalty, in that (as he has the confidence to affirm) *they give all the security for it that man-*

Surveigh, p. 296.

mankind can deſire, from their profeſt duty, principle, faith and doctrine. And this Impudence I muſt confeſs provoked me to deal ſomewhat more roundly with him, and to let him ſee how great and how many obligations himſelf and his party lay under to a publick Repentance. Of all which you have taken no notice but only to wonder at my Inſolence, and that ſignifies nothing but only to ſhew your own. The grounds and motives that I have laid before you to exhort you to this duty are plain and undeniable; they are too many to be here repeated, you may (if you pleaſe) find them in my Reply to *J. O.* from p. 629. to p. 641. If you can quit your ſelves of them (as I am ſure you never can) I will give you as many more; but till the old Scores are diſcounted, there is no need of a new Reckoning; and as you love your ſelves be adviſed never to call for any. And now you ſee upon what reaſon I demanded ſignal Marks, it was none of my own Motion but his Challenge; though without that, it had been pertinent and ingenuous enough, unleſs they would learn more ſober Principles. However I had never taken any notice of his former Blaſphemies, had I not been driven to it

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by his own Impudence. I was not ſo diſingenuous as to object his or any mans perſonal Miſcarriages to the diſparagement of a publick Cauſe, though you have raked up the faults (as you ſuppoſe them) of ſeveral particular Members of the Church of *England* againſt the Church it ſelf; ſuch Topicks as theſe are too dirty to be uſed in any but a bad and a baffled Cauſe. And as for *J.O.* himſelf, though I have heard many ſtrange ſtories of him, I ſcorn'd to publiſh any one Report to his diſadvantage, and have charged nothing upon him but what himſelf thought good to publiſh to the World: Neither in truth ſhould I have done that, but that (you ſee) I was forced upon it by his own provocation, as I would clear my own Candour and Sincerity. And I proteſt that if he can convict me of any one Forgery, it ſhall not ſuffice to ask him forgiveneſs upon my Knees, but I will make him as publick a Recantation, as I think he owes to his King and Countrey. And as for the truth of all thoſe Principles of Blaſphemy and Rebellion that I have produced againſt him out of his own Writings, I will appeal to his own Conſcience and Ingenuity. And if my Citations are true, I ſhall trouble my ſelf

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no more about them, but leave it to the company to judge of the conſequences of ſuch Tenets, and to himſelf to conſider under what duty he lyes to the publique upon their account. And how far you your ſelf were engaged, or whether at all I ſcorn to enquire; and though by the Principles of your Book you ſeem to be full as bad as he, yet *really* I think him as much worſe than you as a *well-meaning* Zealot is more cruel than a Souldier of fortune, you only fight for pay, but he for ſpite and zeal. And now what if I *do inculcate the late War and its horrid Cataſtrophe, and will needs have it to be upon a religious account?* And ſo I will, and you know too well how demonſtratively I have proved it out of their own *Declarations.* In anſwer to all which you are only ſo civil as to ſuſpect that *I have been better acquainted with Parliament Declarations upon another account.* But it is no matter upon what account I came acquainted with them; whatever it was, this I learn'd into the bargain that Religion was the main pretence of their Rebellion, or as *J. O.* expreſſes it, their only deſign was to ſet on foot *the great work of taking the Kingdom from men and giving it to Chriſt.* But ſure you think the

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the Children of *England* as forward as the Boys and Girls of *Scotland* were, when you ſuppoſe me formerly ſo well acquainted with Parliament Declarations. I was no doubt an Arch-rebel when I was a School-boy, and when I ſhould have been conning my Leſſon was drawing up Remonſtrances, and was at leaſt one of *Iretons Adjutatours*, and aſſiſtant at the penning the Armies Remonſtrance from St. *Albans*. Unleſs I were ſo pregnant a Youth, it can ſcarce be ſuſpected how I ſhould be ſo well acquainted in former times with Parliament Declarations. For unleſs this *formerly* relate to the time before his Majeſties Reſtauration, it loſes its malice (& that is all it was intended for) in that there can be no very great ground of ſuſpicion of any great deſign of miſchief in peruſing them ſince; however be that as it will, this no doubt is ſufficient to bring *J. O.* off when he is plainly baffled, and you have not one word to ſay in his defence, then to drop any rude ſuggeſtion, and that will or may ſerve turn to divert people from attending to the Argument. Be it therefore known unto all men, that *J. O.* had ſo much confidence and ſo little wit as to affirm, that the Cauſe of Religion was

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not pretended or concern'd in the late War, and that I have demonſtrated this to be no leſs than *impudent Leaſing*. And ſo Sir you may proceed. *This horrid Ca-* Pag. 251.
taſtrophe was twenty four long *years ago, and after an Act of Oblivion, and for ought you can ſee, it had been as ſeaſonable to have ſhewn* Cæſars *bloody Coat, or* Thomas a Beckets *bloody Rochet.* Twenty four long years ago! that is almoſt beyond my memory, but if it had been ſo many hundred years ago, and if *J. O.* had denied that the King was murther'd ſo long ſince by Fanatique Rebels, I would have convicted him of impudence, though there had been ten thouſand Acts of Oblivion; and if he had denied that *Cæſar too was murther'd*, I would have ſhewn his bloody Coat; and when I have to do with the Papiſts, I will hang out *Thomas a Beckets* bloody Rochet too; it is a very good inſtance, to ſhew the inconvenience of having the Clergy of any Kingdom ſubject to a foreign Power; and if ever the Pope recover his Authority in *England*, it will alwayes be ſo again, and ſometimes worſe, becauſe they muſt be bound to obey his Decrees, not only above, but againſt the Kings Commands. But yet whilſt I have to do with Fanatiques,

tiques, ſuch as *J. O.* and your ſelf, that inſtead of having any compunction for the *late horrid Cataſtrophe*, diſcharge its guilt wholly from your ſelves upon the King and his Loyal Subjects, to ſuch (I ſay) I muſt and will ſhew the Scaffold at *Whitehall*. Eſpecially when notwithſtanding it was twenty long years ago, many of the ſame men that were notorious inſtruments in that bloody Rebellion, are ſtill in ſpite of gratitude and Mercy muſtering up the People under their ancient Heads and old Principles.

Pag. 251. Yes! *but the Chief of the Offenders have long ſince made ſatisfaction to juſtice.* Now you ſay ſomething, when you can aſſure us that they are hang'd indeed, that (whatever *Harriſon* threatned at his execution) is ſome competent ſecurity, and I think for that reaſon, the King for the time to come need never fear the ſame High Court of Juſtice that murther'd his Father. We are ſatisfied then as to the good behaviour of all that are dead, but can you undertake for the Survivers?

Pag. 252. Oh yes no doubt. For they are all *ſo weary that he would be knockt on the head that ſhould raiſe the firſt diſturbance of the ſame nature.* This is only the ſecurity Mr. *Calvin* has given us for the peaceable deportment

deportment of ſingle perſons, and it is very likely that if any one man ſhould begin a Civil War, he *would be knockt on the head.* And I believe if Colonel *Venner*, or the Cow-keeper, though they had forty men to aſſiſt them, ſhould cry hey for *Woodſtreet!* hey for King Jeſus! it is not improbable but that they may have *their brains beaten out.* But the thing we fear is leſt whilſt they take liberty to propagate their Principles, and enlarge their Party, they ſhould in time grow once more into a body ſtrong enough to fight the battels of the Lord, and ſet up the Kingdom of Chriſt, that is (as *J. O.* has explain'd it) a Commonwealth. And what though at preſent you are *ſo weary*, yet you may have time to gather breath, and if you have, then it ſeems we have no ſecurity, when it is only your being tired and out of ſtrength that keeps you from being unruly. But what is it that you are *ſo weary of?* nothing but Laws and Government, as is too manifeſt from your reſtleſneſs and impatience under all reſtraints. Are *you weary of* your Principles? Do but aſſure us of that and we ſhall never deſire any more ſecurity; but if you are not, as ſoon as you can get wind, we are ſtill juſt as we were.

Pag. 252. were. But *the King has ſo obliged the Non-conformiſts by his late mercy, that if there were any ſuch Knave, there can be no ſuch fool among them, that would ever lift up an ill thought againſt him.* Now indeed you have nickt it to purpoſe, next to their being *hang'd* nothing can ſecure their Loyalty like gratitude and good-nature. They lift up an ill thought againſt the King after he has ſo much obliged them! It is impoſſible! It is againſt the nature of the Beaſt! Away with the Guards! Save ſo much money! the Preſbyterian has paſs'd his word, and can you deſire a better hoſtage? Oblige him but once, and he is your own for ever. It is not in his power to do an ungrateful action, and now he is ſo much beholden to the King, he is no more able to *lift up a diſloyal thought* againſt him than to remove mountains. This I muſt confeſs goes a great way, and as far as any thing next to the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, but yet after all it will not do ſo effectually as hanging, for what if the King ſhould ever happen to diſoblige them again? why then, unleſs they are very *weary* there is an end of all the Preſbyterian Loyalty. I know (though I have not the honour to have that intimate

mate acquaintance that you have with him) he is a very civil and well-bred Gentleman, and knows how to *condescend to their infirmities*, and to *humour them like Children, and when they have taught cold, desire them to be cover'd*, but yet I know withall that they are so peevish, and so apt to take exception, that let him carry himself never so swimmingly, he can never avoid it, but that sometime or other he must before he is aware fall under their displeasure, and then (if ever they get him within their power) they will be disposing of him as they were all along of his Father *according to the Covenant*. But what strange News is this? The Fanatiques *obliged!* I could scarce have believed it, though I had read it in the *Gazette*, I am confident it is more than the King himself knows. Will you give me leave to carry the information to any of his Secretaries of State, and when I have done, will you promise to justifie it? I must confess his Majesties Indulgence (all things consider'd) was a very obliging kindness, yet I am sure his Royal Father laid upon them ten times greater Obligations than that amounts to; he granted them every thing they asked even to one half of his

Kingdom, and yet how he obliged them we all know. And (as I understand it) the *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* was none of the smallest Obligations, at least it was much greater than the Declaration of Indulgence, as much as it is really more comfortable for men to enjoy their lives and estates than to have their wills. Yet I cannot find any remarkable effect it ever had upon their ingenuity; but that they still continue as peevish and unpeaceable as ever. Not but that they have suffer'd as well as ever men did, and are ready to do so still, only that it

Pag. 252. is *so hard a Chapter for men in their condition to suffer extremities patiently, that some think it impossible*, and therefore though they are never so angry at the Government, and impatient of the Laws, yet for all that they may be, and (if we may take your word) are of as meek and passive tempers as any men in the world beside, seeing it is impossible to flesh and blood to bear the extremities, that they suffer, patiently, so that in the result of all, it seems they suffer as patiently as any men living, only because it is impossible for any men living to suffer patiently. Yes, *but if there were any such Knave, there can be no such fool among them.* But

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of their wiſdom we are ſecure enough already, and only deſire a bond of their honeſty. And ſince *fools* (as you think) are leſs dangerous than *Knaves*, the kindneſs had been greater, if you would have been ſurety to his Majeſty againſt their more poſſible Knavery. And yet though you had given us theſe and ten thouſand enſurances more of their Loyalty, they would not do without *teſtimonies, ſignal marks, publique acknowledgements, ſatisfaction and recantation*, becauſe men that have been ſo deeply engaged in ſo heinous a crime, if they are ſenſible of it, can never be ſuppoſed to ſatisfie themſelves with a ſlight repentance; and therefore whatever other aſſurance they can give from their being hang'd, wearied, and obliged, it is of no force nor uſe to the publique, in that if they are in good earneſt, theſe would be the beginnings and firſt pangs of repentance, ſo that when they plainly refuſe to acknowledge their fault, there needs no other proof of their being hardned in it, and whenever they have opportunity, returning to it. But it ſeems they have done more than all this. For *no ſooner has the King ſhewn them his late favour, but I and my Partners reproach them for being too* Pag. 274.

much friends to the Prerogative. They friends to the Prerogative! juſt as the Devil was to the Scriptures; they make the ſame uſe of it to the King, as he did of them to our Saviour, only to perſwade him to break his own neck. Do we not know their Principles too well to believe that their ſeeming acceptance of his Majeſties Indulgence proceeds not from any acknowledgement of his Supremacy to make or ſuſpend Eccleſiaſtical Laws? Do they not challenge theſe Immunities as due to them by Divine Right, and which were before wrongfully detain'd from them? Their end in magnifying the Kings Indulgence is not to confirm his juſt claim of Supremacy in Church-concerns, when they deny nothing more vehemently, but becauſe they hope by this ſeeming compliance ſo to encreaſe and ſtrengthen their own Party, as that they may be able to diſtreſs the Epiſcopal Government, and then the Royal Supremacy. So that we are ſo far from reproaching them with being too friendly to the Prerogative, that their ſeeming complyance with it upon their Principles is the greateſt evidence of their treachery againſt it. When they claim by Divine Right an abſolute exemption from this

part of it, and if the King or Parliament exerciſe any of this Juriſdiction over them, they call it Tyranny and a *violating of the Divine Majeſty*. So that they fight for the Prerogative, juſt as they did for the King, againſt it ſelf. And they cannot but be zealous Aſſertours of it above the Laws, when as they will not obey the Laws, ſo they will not acknowledge that. And therefore it is not out of any friendſhip that they have to the Prerogative, that they thus magnifie the Kings pardons and diſpenſations, but only out of hatred and oppoſition to the Government, becauſe by this means they ſuppoſe ſome part of the ſupreme power to be lopt off, and then they are hearty friends to any thing that abates of that. They are right *Gibellines*, for any thing or any intereſt to make diſturbance; for King or Parliament, or either or neither for their own ends and to oppoſe the *Guelphs*. In the late War when the King declared againſt them and the Parliament for them, they then fought for the Parliament againſt the Prerogative. But *after all the fatal Conſequences of that Rebellion* the King and Parliament both *obſerving their Sea-marks* joyn together to root up their principles of Schiſm Pag. 250.

and Sedition, and then they declare against both for the Prerogative of God and every man's Conscience. And now the King lately for reasons of State, and perhaps to make an experiment of their good nature, being inclined to suspend for a while the Penalties of the Laws in force against them, then hey for the Prerogative above all Laws and Parliaments; and they preach up nothing but *Sibthorpianism* and *Absolute Government*, because it was the *Rock on which the last King ruined*. They care not what becomes of King and Parliament and Kingdom too, so they may gratifie their own Pride and peevishness. Not that I believe they have all formed designs against the State, (they are most of them too simple to entertain thoughts so great) but yet they are easily acted by those that have; they are conceited and froward, and apt to pick quarrels and take offence at the present management of affairs, be it what it will. And if they are not courted as well as humour'd by their Governours their proud hearts are liable to a certain *Infirmity*, that is very troublesom, and they are presently *reflecting upon the Histories of former times*, the Roman Emperour, the King of *Poland*, *Alexander*

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the Great, the King of *Spain*, the Queen of *Sweden*, the Flea Tyrant, and the ſturdy Swiſs, and a thouſand more not ſuch idle ſtories, but that they can tell how to make uſe of them as well as Kings. And if Kings will not be inſtructed by theſe Examples to behave themſelves dutifully towards their Subjects, they know how to take an *Antipathy* to Regal Government, and then he is bound to be ſo civil as *to refrain the uſe of it, however not to preſs it upon them*, but if he have ſo little ſenſe of *common humanity as not to yield to their Weakneſſes*, he makes himſelf an *hard hearted and inflexible Tyrant*; and if he have ſo little diſcretion as to truſt his *Underſtanding to the Clergies keeping, and to know nothing beyond Ceremonies and Sibthorpianiſm* (*i. e.* to take any care for the Execution of Eccleſiaſtical Laws) if he ruine his Government upon that Rock by forcing them to rebel (ſhrewdly againſt their Wills poor Innocents!) he may thank himſelf and his *implacable Divines*. This is all your friendſhip to the Prerogative in matters of Religion, to make all exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical Power Acts of Tyranny. And you are ſo far his Majeſties friend as to adviſe him *to be ſo ſatisfied with the abun-* Pag. 246.

dance of his Power, as to abate of its exercise by his discretion. But though you are always excusing your self from medling with State affairs by reason of your private breeding, your modesty, and your not having been bound Prentice to the Trade of Kings; and on the contrary accusing me for presuming to instruct and advise Princes, yet are you always too prescribing to them Rules of Wisdome and Discretion, teaching them when it is requisite to screw up, and when to let down their Prerogative, how to humour their Subjects, to condescend to their Infirmities, and bid them to be cover'd in their presence, and sometimes (as here) to be content with having their Power without exercising it. Whereas I have no where read them any Lectures how to govern their Islands, but have only (as became a dutiful Subject) asserted their power against your principles of Anarchy and Rebellion. And if they will forgo any part of it to *condescend to your Infirmities*, they are more competent Judges of their own actions than I am, and therefore I shall never censure them for it, though I must confess they would be better natur'd than I think I should be in their Cases. Though alas!

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it is pity but you ſhould be humour'd, after all this experience they have had of your meekneſs and ſimplicity, and after all that aſſurance you have given them of your peaceable reſolutions and principles, *viz.* that whereas you have heretofore embroil'd the Nation in a civil War for nothing, and though you are now convinced of it your ſelves, yet you will not ſo much as acknowledge it, becauſe (forſooth) it would be a blemiſh upon your Reputation, and therefore you will admit of no terms of Peace unleſs we will condeſcend to your unreaſonable humours only to ſave your paltry credit. And if we will not, we may look to our ſelves, you will make good your own party. And then if upon this the Government ſhall think it a little neceſſary to reſtrain you in theſe bold and factious courſes, it is Tyranny and a *violation of the Divine Majeſty*. You and your Conſciences are exempt from all their Laws and are in the hand of God alone; and that is all your real owning of the Prerogative. Though if at any time it lets you alone in all your extravagances and ſuffers you to break the Laws, you are then ſuch friends to it as no men more. You are for or againſt any thing

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ſo you may but have the comfort of affronting Authority. All that I have hitherto diſcourſed concerns only thoſe Non-conformiſts that at leaſt pretend to Sobriety; but as for all the inferiour Sects though they never agreed in any thing but in their implacable Zeal againſt their Prince, yet I never troubled my ſelf ſo much as to exhort them to Repentance, becauſe they have the privilege of all other mad men to do miſchief without being reſponſible for it, and therefore are not to be diſcourſed or adviſed into their wits, becauſe being inſenſible of the miſchief they do, they can only be bound and reſtrained from doing it; and to give them their Liberty is not only to ſuffer them to act any extravagance they have a mind to, but to ſpread and propagate the Infection of their Madneſs: For there is no Frenzy in Religion that the lower ſort of the People are not too apt to be tainted with; ſo that inſtead of allowing them Conventicles it were more proper to build them Bedlams, nothing can govern them but Chains and Keepers.

But as for your own part we are willing to excuſe you from *ſignal Marks, &c.* becauſe you have given ſuch mighty proofs

proofs and demonstrations of your Loyalty and Good-will to the King by that wonderful Zeal that you have upon all occasions shewn for the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity, which as you have order'd the matter was enacted purely in favour of himself and his own Party. You have brought things to that pass, that were it not for that, you might erect a new Court of Justice, and hang them all for any thing they have to plead in their own defence. For as you tell the story, they are the only guilty persons in reference to the late Rebellion. Your Charge against his Royal Father is the very same with the Inditement that was preferred against him both by and before the high Court of Justice, only the manner of your Expressions is suited to the alteration of time and circumstances. But he fought against a Cause that was only *too good to be fought for*, he began a War against the Religion and the Liberty of his Subjects, and forced them to take up Arms in their own defence against Tyranny and Arbitrary Government; for so you would have called it had you written in those happy days, though now the word is Sibthorpianism, *i. e.* (as you describe it) an endeavour to invade his

Subjects

Subjects Proprieties and subvert the Fundamental Laws, and for that Cause only involve his Kingdoms in a long and bloody War. And though he were sworn to maintain all the Ancient Constitutions of the Realm, yet he deformed his whole Reign with indefatigable pains to destroy them, and when he perceived that he could obtein his wicked and tyrannical Ends no other way, he pursued them through all parts of his Dominions with Blood and Violence, and at last upon this *Rock* ruined himself and his Kingdoms. So that all the mischiefs of the late War are to be scored purely upon his head; but as for all those that took up Arms against him, their Cause was so over-just and warrantable, that it was only too good to have been fought for. And now what could you have said worse of the worst Prince that ever wielded Sceptre, than what you have here said of the very best? However, this methinks is but an odd way of ensuring the good Behaviour of the Nonconformists for the time to come, when you stand upon the Justification of their Innocence for the time past. And it shews you to be a man of Judgment, whilest you have so little Wit as to appeal to

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their former Practices as a ſufficient Security of their future Peaceableneſs, and by their harmleſneſs (poor Lambs!) in reference to the late War encourage us to truſt to their good Nature and Modeſty for ever. For if they were ſo innocent as to that Rebellion, ſaving that they fought for a Cauſe only *too good* to have been fought for, they are ſafe enough from ever fighting for any Cauſe *too bad* to be fought for. And yet I ſhrewdly ſuſpect we owe this very declaration of the Cauſes being *too good to be fought for*, rather to your Cowardize than your Loyalty; for it ſeems you think all Cauſes coſt too dear when they are bought with danger or blood, and though both their Religion and their Liberty were invaded you would have adviſed them rather than fight to let them both go. And as little as you would have fought for the Good old Cauſe, you would have fought much leſs for his Majeſties Reſtauration in that it was forſooth *to do it ſelf without our Officiouſneſs*, you had not *leaſed* if you had ſaid *againſt it* too. However his Majeſty, for any thing you would have had done for him, might have been beyond Sea ſtill, unleſs God would have been pleaſed to have reſtored him by

Pag. 303.

by miracle, and have march'd before him as he did before the Camp of *Israel*, and rain'd down fire from Heaven upon
Pag. 304. the Rump and all their Adherents. *For men ought to have trusted God, and not have taken the Work out of his hands by their own Officiousness, he knows how to bring all things about in their best and proper time.* And these are pretty good evidences of your good-will to his Majesties Government. First, in that you scarce commend any thing of it since his Return beside *the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion*; and then secondly, in that you are so much concern'd to disclaim the Merits of those Persons that were Actors and Instruments in it, by denying the Efficacy of any humane means towards bringing it to pass, and casting it intirely upon the immediate Care of divine Providence. So that if it were to do again you would advise his Subjects to forbear all endeavours of his Restauration, and leave it to be brought to pass by the Providence of God, or *suffer it to do it self without their Officiousness.* We understand you. But now have you not made an admirable Apology for the Loyalty of the Nonconformists by denying that they can possibly be ever guilty of any such thing

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as Rebellion? for if the late War were none, it is certain there never was nor will be any, and I think upon this ſuppoſition, and upon this alone, we may pronounce them both innocent and ſecure as to this Crime. But thus we ſee that whenever the Cauſe of Non-conformity appears at top, the *Good old Cauſe* ever did and ever will lye at bottom; or (as your ſelf expreſs it) *if it were a War of Religion, i.e.* Fanaticiſm *at top*, it was *a War of Liberty, i. e.* a Commonwealth *at bottom.* That is, your old and your new Cauſe, and you *ſink into it with the dexterity of fat Sir John Falſtaff.* In a word, it is your cloſe and comfortable Importance. And now after all your kind and courtly Expreſſions almoſt in every page towards the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity, and on the contrary rating me for ſhewing no more reſpect to it than to remember ſome old ſtories in deſpite of its Authority, and laſtly commanding me *to let all thoſe things of former times alone and mind my own buſineſs*: You your ſelf have not made bold with it at all, by reviving the Adventures of *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*, and raking into all the *Deformities* of the late King's whole Reign, and tranſcribing a long Hiſtory out of a certain Pag. 253.

tain long Gazette of the true Cauſe and Original (as you dream) of the Rebellion. So that we now perceive your meaning in all this idle noiſe about the Act of Oblivion is to limit the Remembrance of the late War to ſuch occurrences as you think may be of advantage to ſuch as acted in and for the Rebellion; but as for the ſuffering and loyal Party, they muſt be obliged and conjured to ſeal up their Lips and ſmother their Reſentments; however if I had been profane or diſingenuous in offending againſt the ſacred Act of Oblivion, I am ſure you have outgone me, have done that and more. For that looks back no farther than the year 37. but yet there are ſome old Sibthorpian Gentlemen ſtill alive that might poſſibly have had an hand in *carrying on Impoſitions of money in the late Kings time, and thereby contributing not a little to our late Wars*; now theſe men are ſtill obnoxious to Juſtice for all their Miſdemeanours notwithſtanding the Act of Indemnity; and therefore if Ceremonies and Sibthorpianiſm were the Cauſe of the War, the guilt of all that blood that was ſpilt in it muſt lie upon their heads, and the King may bring them to Trial for all the Miſeries they brought upon his

Pag. 282.

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Kingdoms, for the Murther of his Fa-ther and the loſs of an hundred thouſand ſubjects, and all for Sibthorpianiſm and *Laud*. Is this your *Gentleman's memory* to remind his Majeſty of things too old for an Act of Oblivion, ſo old that if you would let them alone, they would be forgotten of themſelves without it? And though you would oblige him (as he is a Gentleman) to forget that ever the Preſbyterians rebelled againſt his Father and took away his Crown and Sovereignty; to forget that ever the Independents beſide that took away his Life; to forget that they and all the other Sectaries join'd forces to expel himſelf out of his own Kingdoms, and keep him in baniſhment for ever, and that he was reſtored in ſpite of all their zeal and malice; and laſtly to forget that ſince the time of his Reſtauration none of them ever had the Grace to ask Forgiveneſs for their former *Leaſings* or to give him any Aſſurance of their future Allegiance. A man had need learn the *Art* of Gentlemans Memory to forget all theſe things that are ſo freſh in the minds of men; but yet notwithſtanding all this you your ſelf do and would have him remember ſome old Gentlemen of thoſe times that

are ſtill alive, that were the cauſe of all our miſeries, that deſerve to be brought to condign puniſhment, and that his Majeſty may at any time do it, any thing in the Act of Oblivion and Indempnity notwithſtanding. And now upon review of all theſe ſtories that I have told you of former times, you would as I take it have done much more wiſely if you had altogether let them alone and minded your own buſineſs.

And thus far have I vindicated the wiſdom and the honeſty of the Clergy of all Ages from *Noah's* flood through all the four Empires quite down to the late Rebellion, *the fatal conſequences whereof* a wiſe man would have thought might have ſerved as ſea-marks to direct them
Pag. 240. to avoid the *Rocks, but the former Civil War it ſeems cannot make them wiſe, nor his Majeſties happy Return good-natured, but they are ſtill for running things up unto the ſame extremes:* So that by their behaviour ever ſince his Reſtauration
Pag. 305. *they have given him no encouragement to ſteer by their Compaſs*; with a great many more ſad ſtories that repreſent them as
Pag. 240. *ſuch fierce and cruel Beaſts of prey, ſuch inhumane and hungry Canibals*, that one would expect to hear how they every where

Where eat up their Pariſhoners Children; as faſt as the Preſbyterians do the *Race of Capons*. But theſe are no more than general words that any man may throw out againſt any man, I againſt you, or you againſt me, or a third againſt us both, and a fourth againſt him, and ſo on eternally, eternally *in infinitum*; and therefore they ſignifie no more than all the reſt, and as little need as they deſerve any Anſwer. But beſide theſe you have given us in ſome of their particular miſdemeanours, and them I ſhall a little conſider, and becauſe it is time to have done, run them off with all poſſible ſpeed and brevity. Firſt then *it has been obſerved, that whenſoever his Majeſty hath had the moſt urgent occaſions for Supply, they have made it their buſineſs to* trinkle *with the* Members of Parliament, *for obſtructing it, unleſs the King would buy it with a new Law againſt the Fanatiques. And hence it is, that the wiſdom of his Majeſty and the Parliament muſt be expoſed to after Ages for ſuch a ſuperfetation of Acts, &c.* But this concerns not me, let the King and Parliament anſwer it, as they will clear themſelves from the imputation of folly, and if they have no more wit than to be overreached by being *trinkled*, yet certainly Pag. 310.

they have more than to ſuffer you to call them fools for it, for *they tell me* that none but fools *expoſe their wiſdom.* But pray, how do they *trinkle* the King and the *Members?* Do the Biſhops play with him at *Picquet* in the Parliament Houſe, and *give the ſign* to each other? If they do, they do it among themſelves, and then neither you nor I are privy to their under-hand dealings, and their falſe play, and ſo can give no competent account of the courſe of the Game. At leaſt I think it better becomes us both to leave theſe things to the Gameſters themſelves; and I am ſure it is not done like a Gentleman, that has had his breeding in the *Ordinaries*, when he is no more than a By-ſtander, and has not ſo much as a Bett at ſtake, to raiſe quarrels among the Gameſters by throwing in his own impertinent jealouſies and ſuſpicions of foul play. Had you gon but half a Crown with King and Parliament, and then *have given the ſign* when you ſpied the Biſhops *trinkling*, you might have done very honeſtly, but yet very ungentily. But when you were quite blown up long ſince by the *Dignitary*, and have now nothing left to be cheated of, and cannot have the leaſt concern how the Game goes, unleſs

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it be now and then to pick up a *Barato* or ſo, for ſuch an one as you (I ſay) to meddle is an inſufferable piece of impudence and ill-breeding; and had you done the ſame ill office between Gentlemen at an *Ordinary*, as you have between the King, Parliament, and Biſhops, you would have been kick'd out of doors. But as for my part I dare not touch any thing that is done within thoſe walls; though as for their behaviour out of the houſe, I could never perceive but that they are very honeſt and wel-bred Gentlemen, and you have nothing to object to the contrary, but that they are a little uncivil to the Non-conformiſts, in that they will not allow them the liberty of having their own Wills, though they know how much their nature and conſtitution requires it. Eſpecially *when they demand nothing (that you know of) but what is ſo far from doing us any harm, that it would only make us better.* You know what they demand! If you do, you know more than themſelves, or at leaſt more than they would ever yet declare. This is but an idle thing, ſtill to give us your peremptory opinion of things in general, without abetting it with ſome particular proof or inſtance; If you had undertaken

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ken to tell us what alterations they do demand, and then ſhewn that they would be *ſo far from doing us any harm*, that they would only make us better, you had done ſomething to ſome purpoſe, but otherwiſe you have only declared your own opinion, as any confident man might have done as well as you, and if he had, he might as well have held his tongue too. But now by the leave of your Inſolence, though I know not all their demands, yet this I know, that ſome things that they do demand, would be ſo far from making us better, that they would over-turn not only the Church of *England*, but all the Churches in the world. Their main grievance (you know) is at the three Ceremonies, and that upon this Principle, becauſe they are unſcriptural Symbols, ſo that their quarrel againſt them would not be ſuperſeded by their bare removal, in that there would remain behind other ſignificant Ceremonies as unſcriptural as they, and by conſequence as liable to the ſame exception. And therefore it is to no purpoſe to condeſcend to any of their particular ſcruples, unleſs we could withal remove the Principle upon which they are bottom'd. But that is made plainly impoſſible from

the

the very nature of things, ſeeing there are (as I have often told you, but am forced too often to rub up your dulneſs, becauſe you have no liſt to underſtand) no Ceremonies determined in the Scriptures ſaving only the two Sacraments, and ſeeing it is impoſſible to perform any Divine Service at all without ſome other exteriour Solemnities. Let them chooſe what they pleaſe, they cannot avoid falling under the ſame exception, and the very ſimplicity that they ſeem ſo much to affect can plead as little precedent from the word of God as any cuſtome or faſhion whatſoever. And it is too notorious, and has been too often told them how they themſelves continually practiſe againſt their own principle in all the circumſtances peculiar to their own way of worſhip, and if they do not apply it as well againſt themſelves as the Church of *England*, it is only becauſe they are humourſom as well as unreaſonable. At leaſt this exception is ſo infinitely nice and peeviſh, that though it can, yet it never will be ſatisfied. What trains and labyrinths of diſtinctions are they forced to *plant* only to defend their Argument, when they ſhould be proving it. Some Ceremonies are natural, ſome cuſtomary,

ſome catholique, ſome topical, ſome lawful, and ſome unlawful, that are all *but idle ſtories* of their own deviſing, rather to excuſe than juſtifie their pretence. And what *Maſter* of them has skill or authority enough to range all Ceremonies under their proper heads? and when he has done it, what ground has he to determine the lawfulneſs of theſe and the immorality of thoſe? With innumerable more ſuch curious nothings, as had never been ſo much as thought of, had not theſe men been ſo proud and ſtubborn, as to think, that when they had once ſtarted an abſurdity, they were obliged to ſtand to it. But their diſcourſes upon this Argument are in your judgement ſo frivolous, that though that is none of the deepeſt, nor your ſelf the moſt modeſt man in the world, yet you are aſhamed to own them. For when you come to that part of the Controverſie, you poſitively diſclaim and defie their maſter-objection as too ridiculous in it ſelf, and below the wit and wiſdom of the men that make it, and have not ventured to juſtifie any thing in that whole matter beſide the nipping Quotation out of the 5*th.* Epiſtle to *Marcellinus*. So great a Caſt is it of your arrogance to tell us,

that

that *you know of no enmity the Non-conformists have to the Church it self, but what it was in her power always to have remedied, and so it is still.* When it is so little in our Power to remedy their Grievances, that it is not in the power of nature; and though we change and reform as much as they would have us, and as often as they have done themselves, it will do nothing towards removing their enmity, if they have any other grounds for it beside humour and peevishness, and if they have not, I am sure it is least of all in our Power to remedy that. We may convince them, but we can never make them good-natured, unless they will give their minds to it. And whereas you upbraid us so perpetually with the Conference of *Worcester* house, as if His Majesties Commissioners had cunningly and revengefully obstructed the Accommodation, when the Abatements demanded by the Non-conformists were so reasonable, and might so easily have been complyed with; Do you at all know what were the abatements they demanded *to bring them off with Conscience?* To let you see your confidence, I tell you they demanded none at all, but the question being solemnly put to them (and

Pag. 275.

(and that as I am told) in his Majesties presence, whether they knew of any thing in the Liturgy, with which they could not comply without sin, they all declared their own satisfaction, but only desired some abatements for the ease of weak Brethen, or rather as you tell us
Pag. 306. bluntly, *to bring themselves off with some little reputation.* For *they as well as all*
Pag. 275. *the rest of mankind are men for their own ends too.* What an Apology is here, that these men who had *trinkled* the whole Nation into a Covenant against Prelacy and Antichrist, who had drawn vast numbers of well-meaning People into Rebellion against the best Prince that ever wielded English Scepter; who had contributed to involve their Native Countrey in a bloody war, and brought upon it such an heap of calamities, as we all know succeeded one upon the neck of another, and all this under pretence of the necessity of Reformation. And yet now when they were convinced in their own Consciences that they had so horribly abused both themselves and the people, and had thrown away the lives of an *hundred thousand* men for nothing, instead of condescending to any acknowledgement of their errour, and doing something towards

towards preventing the like miſchiefs for the time to come, they on the contrary reſolve to perſiſt in their Schiſm and oppoſition to the Church, unleſs ſhe will condeſcend to them in ſome unreaſonable demands, and that too only for faſhion ſake to ſalve their Reputation, *i. e.* to make the people believe that there was ſome reaſon for all the diſorders of the Rebellion, and to leave it upon Record to Poſterity, that the Church at laſt ſaw it reaſonable if not neceſſary to condeſcend to their demands, and to redreſs their Grievances. Do you think they had not come off with much more Reputation, if they had honeſtly confeſs'd their miſtake, and endeavour'd to diſabuſe the people, and ſhewn the uprightneſs of their intentions by the frankneſs of their Repentance, than thus openly and impudently to prevaricate with the World by declaring that though they knew no ſufficient ground for Separation, yet becauſe ſeparated they were and that into Rebellion as well as Schiſm, they muſt keep their party together, and ſecure them for ever returning to the peaceable Communion of the Church, unleſs ſomething by all means be firſt done to bring them off

with

with Reputation, that the people might not have any cauſe to abate the great opinion they had either of their wit or their honeſty. Surely a right modeſt and tender-hearted petition, that no terms of Peace and accommodation may be thought of, unleſs they may firſt be publickly declared innocent, and then you know as well as I, who are thereby declared guilty. Here the conference begun and here it ended. The Preſbyterians themſelves have printed an account of all proceedings of the Commiſſioners of both perſwaſions. And there you may ſee that one of the firſt things propoſed to them was that if they had any thing to object againſt the *Liturgy as any way ſinful and unlawful for us to joyn with, it is but reaſon that this be firſt proved evidently, before any thing be alter'd; it is no argument to ſay that multitudes of ſober pious perſons ſcruple the uſe of it, unleſs it be made to appear by evident reaſons that the Liturgy gave the juſt grounds to make ſuch ſcruples. For if the bare pretence of ſcruples be ſufficient to exempt us from obedience, all law and order is gone.* To this what do they reply but that *poſſibly it might be unlawful for them to impoſe it, though not for others to joyn with them in its uſe when it was impoſed.* Though for the

Sect. 5.

the proof of this they thought good to refer it (as they ſtill do all their diſputes when they are baffled) to the day of Judgment, till which time they reſolve to continue peeviſh and quarrelſome. But if they had undertaken to prove it, yet ſtill it was but poſſible, and that not upon the exceptions of wiſe men but the ſcruples of weak brethren; to which it was replyed, *on the contrary we judge that* Sect. 6. *if the Liturgy ſhould be alter'd as is required, not only a multitude, but the generality of the ſobereſt and moſt loyal Children of the Church of* England *would juſtly be offended, ſince ſuch an alteration would be a virtual confeſſion that this Liturgy were an intolerable burden to tender Conſciences, a direct cauſe of Schiſm, a ſuperſtitious uſage, which would at once both juſtifie all thoſe which have ſo obſtinately ſeparated from it, as the only pious tender Conſcienced men, and condemn all thoſe that have adhered to that in Conſcience of their Duty and Loyalty, with their loſs or hazard of Eſtates, Lives, and Fortunes, as men ſuperſtitious, ſchiſmatical, and void of Religion and Conſcience.* But for all this they boldly give in their exceptions againſt every part of the Liturgy, not upon any pretence of Conſcience,

but

but becauſe it was not conformable enough to their own *Directory*, and for that reaſon muſt the book of Common-Prayer be wholly laid aſide, and inſtead of it a new form of their own compiling impoſed. Theſe were their leaſt demands and they were very modeſt ones. And no doubt but *upon a little moderation and*
Pag. 306. *temper of things*, i. e. *upon the leaſt abatement to bring them off with Conſcience* (though there was no ſuch thing as Conſcience pretended in the caſe) *and which inſinuates into all men, ſome little Reputation, they would never have ſtuck out.* That is to ſay, do but give them their wills to all intents and purpoſes, and upon thoſe terms it is poſſible they may condeſcend to an accommodation. But what did theſe *implacable Divines* of the Church of *England* do to defeat this deſign of eſtabliſhing a new Heaven and a new
Pag. 306. Earth? Why! *to ſhew that they were* men like others, even cunning men, revengful men (beſide their *drilling on* and *trinkling* out the *fooliſh* Act of Uniformity) *they made ſeveral unneceſſary Additions only becauſe they knew they would be more ingrateful and ſtigmatical to the Non-conformiſts*, v. g. *in the Litany to falſe Doctrine and Hereſie they added Schiſm, though it*

were

were to ſpoil the Muſick and Cadence of the Period. This *Bran* is never to be refined, and this obſtinacy of the Clergy ever will be (as it ever has been) the greateſt Obſtacle of the Clemency, Prudence, and good Intentions of Princes, and the eſtabliſhment of their affairs. When all things and all perſons were ſo towardly prepared toward an accommodation, if they would but once have conſented only to aboliſh the eſtabliſh'd Liturgy, and ſet up a *Geneva* Directory, and what had all that been, had not they always been for the moſt bruitiſh and precipitate Counſels, but inſtead of yielding to ſo reaſonable a demand, they like cunning and revengeful men, foiſt in a new Prayer againſt Schiſm, *becauſe they knew it would be ſtigmatical to the Nonconformiſts.* Though you knew the reflection lights purely upon the Church of *England*, becauſe as you have admirably demonſtrated out of Mr. *Hales*, Schiſm rhimes to *Iſm.* But let them look to that, your grievance is that *they have ſpoiled the Muſick and Cadence of the Period.* If they have, far be it from me to patronize ſuch Crimes, I muſt confeſs I have no very good Ear, but yet as far as I am able to diſcern, the Period

runs

runs off as roundly as ever. But if *Schism* do offend your ears, yet however that is no offence to your Conscience, though it seems *Rebellion* (another word you might as well have excepted against) is offensive to neither. And now in this whole Affair compare the *Precipitate Counsels* of the Church of *England* with the yielding Temper of the Presbyterians, and then judge you what Party it was that obstructed the Kings design of Accommodation. He issues out his Commission to reform the Liturgy, if there were any need; now (say the Presbyterians) nothing will ever do it but our *our old thorough way of Reformation* utterly to abolish and lay it aside for ever; that was their easie Method, and the result of all their moderate Counsels. No, say the Bishops, unless you will find something sinful and unlawful in the Liturgy we are well enough already, and need nothing more than to join heartily in our Prayers to Almighty God against *Schism* and *Rebellion*. And what could be more cruelly and revengefully done than to injoyn Presbyterians *but* to pray against *Schism* and *Rebellion*, and rather than hate them that (though it were to save their Reputation)

on) ſpoil the Muſick of a Period? They will never leave theſe precipitate, bruitiſh and ſanguinary Counſels; Neither the civil War, nor the King's Return, nor the ſoftneſs of the Univerſities, nor the gentleneſs of Chriſtianity can make them wiſe or good-natured. And though they have had ſo much experience, how exceſſively the Non-conformiſts are to be obliged by Condeſcenſions, and how eaſily the laſt King won their hearts by yielding to their demands, in ſo much that from the year 40. to 48. they *would ſooner have been knock'd on the head than have lift up an ill thought* againſt him, and had he not fatally ruined himſelf, whether they would or no, they had made him the *moſt glorious King* that ever wielded the Engliſh Sceptre. What ungrateful Creatures then are theſe *Church-canibals*, when the Non-conformiſts have all along done his Majeſty ſuch ſignal ſervices, yet now after ſuch an happy Reſtauration (happy, I ſay, becauſe it *did it ſelf without their Officiouſneſs*) they ſhould not ſuffer him to comply with their Infirmities. Nay they are grown ſo unreaſonable, that they will not deſtroy the Church *as it is by Law eſtabliſhed* only that the Leaders of the Factions

may have their wills and ſave their credits. Were there ever ſuch inhumane *Canibals* as theſe? Were ever any Beaſts of prey ſo fierce and cruel to thoſe of their own Kind as theſe men are to their dear Brethren? Deny a Preſbyterian his Will! it is a cruelty not to be equall'd by all the Engines of Torture, the *Podoſtrabæ*, the *Dactylethræ* and the reſt; it exceeds the Tyranny of *Julian's Perſecution*, and the inhumanity of a *Jewiſh Zealot*. I ſee they are incorrigible, and it is not in your or my Power to help it, and ſhould we go about it, they would be too hard for us, for they are *cunning men* and underſtand how *to trinkle*; and therefore let us let them alone and leave them to the implacable hardneſs of their own hearts, and the irreverſible doom of the day of Judgment, when *J.O. hopes to rejoice in ſeeing all the Vengeance and Indignation that is in the right hand of God poured out unto Eternity upon the ſouls* of ſuch wretches as theſe. And thus have I (I think) ſufficiently diſplayed the rudeneſs of your ſpite and malice againſt the Clergy of all Ages, but of your own in particular; I ſhall make no farther reflections upon it, ſeeing that has always been their Fate ever ſince *Balaam's* days,

that

that is the first Precedent we meet with of the preaching of such Creatures as you, and as I cannot hear that ever you spoke before, so I believe you had never open'd your Mouth at all now but only to censure and reprove the Blindness of the Prophets. I have detected spite and malice enough against the Clergy, and now I think it worth the while to discover the Bottom of all this wrath and Indignation, and certainly it can not be any matter of less importance than *the fortunes of Cæsar and the Roman Empire*, and if you will listen, in short this it was. *It is not many years ago that you used to play at Picquet; and there was a Gentleman of the Robe*, a Dignitary of *Lincoln*, *very well known and remembred in the Ordinaries. Now you used to play* Pieces, *and this Gentleman would always go half a Crown with you, and so all the while he sat on your hand, he very honestly* gave the sign, *so that you were always sure to lose. You afterwards discovered it, but of all the money that ever you were cheated of in your life, none ever vexed you so, as what you lost by this occasion. And ever since you have born a great grudge*, &c. You imagine *he gave the sign*, but how do you prove it? I have been informed by impartial Pag. 281.

By-ſtanders that he did not give the ſign: But that (as all Gameſters are wont to do) when you loſt your Money, you were angry and rail'd at him; whereas (as they tell me) his Eyes were ſo bad that without Spectacles he was not able to diſcern a Spade from a Club; unleſs this *ſiniſter Accident* hapned a great many years ago, and then to remember it now is a diſparagement to a *Gentlemans memory*, if not an Affront to the *Act of Oblivion and Indemnity*. But does this become the Modeſty of a *Gentleman of private Condition and Breeding* to think that Kings have nothing elſe to do than to concern themſelves and their Crowns in your gaming Picques? Is this your manners becauſe *you have upon good reaſon* (*i.e.* becauſe you were once cheated) taken up a *Particular Averſion* againſt the Clergies diſpoſing your money, that therefore all *wiſe Princes* muſt take this for a warning to ſhut the Biſhops out of the Lords houſe, and to keep them from fingring their Subjects money? I am confident you have ſome Clergy-blood running in your Veins, your malice is ſo implacable. Some one of your Anceſtors has as well as the Emperour *Julian* been in Orders ſometime ſince the Flood, if not ſince the

the Reformation; and then no wonder if his *indelible Character* have for ever ſowr'd and tainted the Gentility of his Family. Otherwiſe certainly it is impoſſible a *Gentleman* ſhould ever *wreck his Malice* againſt a ſingle *Dignitary* upon the *Clergy of all Ages*. However this runs you up into one of your own petty Dilemma's; for if you deſcended of Clergy-anceſtors, then (as you know) you are no better than a *Canibal* to be ſo fierce and cruel againſt your own kind; if you did not, then what a ſad blemiſh is it to a Gentleman's Memory and Breeding (though never ſo *private*) to *wreck* your revenge upon the whole Order from the beginning to the end of the World for the fault of one man? But Picquet, that *vilainous* Game that has done more miſchief to the Diſcipline of our Church than Printing or Gun-powder. 'Twas an happy time when the Clergy underſtood no other than the *old Eliſabeth* Game of *Poſt and Pair*, and never plaied higher than two pence a dozen, ſo that if any of them were ſo ingrateful or ſo diſhoneſt as to cheat his Patron or his Patroneſs, it made no great Commotions in the Common-wealth. But ſince the Invention of the vilainous Game of Picquet, at

which *Gentlemen*, though of *private Condition and Breeding* are wont to *play Pieces*, ſuch is the miſchief, that a Clergy-man cannot rook one of them, but an Addreſs muſt immediately be made to King and Parliament to keep their hands off from *fingring* the Subjects money, and a Book muſt be written to prove that all that wear Canonical Coats in all Ages are worſe Robbers than Thieves and High-way-men. What ill fortune preferred this unhappy Dignitary of *Lincoln*, that by one Wink in a Corner has done more harm to the Church of *England* than an hundred ſchiſmatical Divines with all their ſweaty preaching. *Happy had it been for the King, happy for the Church, and happy for himſelf*, that is to ſay, thrice happy had it been, *had he never climed that Pinacle*. But thus we ſee from what ſmall Beginnings the greateſt Actions and Alterations take their riſe; the late bloody War was begun by the *Pickthankneſs* of a Vicar of *Brackley*, and for any thing we know the Kingdom may be embroiled afreſh by the Pickpocketingneſs of a Dignitary of *Lincoln*; for if ever *J. O.* and your ſelf be able to *trinkle* the *ſecret ones* into Rebellion, we may thank this cheating Dignitary for

all

all that follows. O Picquet! Picquet! how haſt thou diſturbed the peace of mankind! That Gameſters ſhould be more implacable than Divines! *Modern Orthodoxy*, *Manwaring*, *and Sibthorpianiſm* have not cauſed ſo great diſturbance in the Common-wealth, as the Picques of *Loſers* againſt thoſe that rook them. Bleſs me from this accurſed Game, if I cannot win a few pieces but I muſt endanger the Church and all, and its Revenues muſt be ſeized to revenge your injury, and repair your fortune. Sir, this is too implacable for a *Gentlemans Memory*. But poor wretch wert thou cheated! It was the very grievance of *Bartlemew Cokes*, he too poor Gentleman could not endure this Naughty Town, becauſe he could not go to a Gaming Ordinary, but he was ſure to be rook'd of all his money. But *Bat* yet was a good-natured *Gentleman*, and eaſily reconciled, and it is the common fate of all Gentlemen of *private condition and breeding*. Come, come then be friends and ſay no more, and we will buy thee a new Muff and Peruke, nay rather than fail, we will preſent thee with Coach and Horſes and Liveries, and thou thy ſelf inſtead of coarſe Drugget ſhalt wear *Sympathetick* Silk,

thy Pockets ſhall be full of *Guinies*, and thou ſhalt again frequent the Gaming Ordinaries with as much credit, and as big looks as ever, we will buy off ſuch an implacable Gameſter at any rate. And if ever hereafter any Clergy-man ſhall preſume to cheat you, then write on and ſpare not, we deſerve no mercy if we will take no warning. And if we will not, paint us out in our own colours, dreſs us up in *Sambenita's with all the flames and devils in hell.* Tell all the

Pag. 11. world, that *the higheſt pinacle of Eccleſiaſtical felicity is to aſſwage their Concu-*

Pag. 239. *piſcence and wreck their malice. That the ſame day they take up Divinity, they deveſt*

Pag. 241. *themſelves of humanity, &c. That the reach of their Divinity is but to Perſecution, and an Inquiſition the height of their*

Pag. 249. *Policy. That they are the only men, who in an affair of Conſcience, and where perhaps 'tis they are in the wrong, are the only hard-hearted and inflexible Tyrants, and not only ſo, but inſtigate and provoke Princes to be the Miniſters of their Cruelty.*

Pag. 299. *That they are ſo exceeding pragmatical, ſo intolerably ambitious, and ſo deſperately proud, that ſcarce any* Gentleman *may come near the tayle of their Mules. That they are enough to deform the whole Reign of*

the

the beſt Prince that ever wielded Scepter; that they make it their buſineſs by their leaſings to keep up a miſunderſtanding between Kings and their Subjects. That they trinkle with the Members ſo ſhamefully, as to expoſe the wiſdom of his Majeſty and the Parliament to After-ages. That is to ſay, the Clergy (as ſuch) are a company of proud, and leacherous, and cruel, and inhumane, and bloody, and tyrannical, and leaſing, and trinkling Knaves. This I think is revenge enough for a more implacable Provocation, than being only a little *trinkled* at Picquet, eſpecially for one, that were it not for this ſiniſter accident (I wiſh this Dignitaries eyes had been out when he over-look'd your hand) is ſo great a lover of the Church of *England, that it joys his heart to hear any thing well ſaid of it*, and ſo great an admirer of the Engliſh Clergy, that he believes *that ever ſince the Reformation they have been of the eminenteſt for divinity and piety in all Chriſtendom.* And ſo true a friend to the Biſhops of *England, that he has for their Function, their Learning, and their Perſons too deep a veneration to ſpeak any thing of them irreverently.* To what ſtrange paſſions will this gaming tranſport men! Who could ever have

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have thought that one that loved and honour'd the Clergy at this rate could ever have been betrayed into ſuch rude and abuſive expreſſions by a little bad fortune at Picquet? Who could ſuppoſe it, that one that was educated in the Church of *England* ſhould for the loſs of a few Pieces become ſuch a fierce and over-doing Renegade, as to ſpit in the face of every Clergy-man that comes in his way, to curſe ſolemnly his Parents for his *birth* as well as his education, and to animate all his acquaintance to the maſſacring of the whole Order? This I believe is ſuch an height of revenge and cruelty, that with all your reading you will never be able to find out an example to equal it among the Clergy of all Ages, unleſs the Prieſts of *Æthiopia*, who were wont to ſend peremptory Commands to their Kings to dye at their pleaſure. From whom I am apt to think the Canibals of the *Race of Capons* deſcended, becauſe of their antipathy to the *Race of Kings*: For if they do not ſo openly claim, yet they do as confidently exerciſe the ſame tyranny over them.

But beſide this unhappy adventure at Picquet, there is another weighty reaſon

of

of your diſpleaſure againſt the Clergy of all Ages, which though it be not ſo broadly expreſs'd, yet 'tis ſufficiently intimated, *viz.* That in ſome age or other they have been a little uncivil to Gentlemen, *for it was come they tell you to Jack Gentleman.* Pag. 294.

They tell you; what *they* tell you? *They* of *Charing-croſs*, or *they* of the Secret ones? The former *they* (wiſe men ſay) never ſay true. The latter *they* (all men know) are ſadly addicted to *leaſing*; but though it were both *they*, nay though it were all *they* of the Modern Orthodoxy, *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, &c. what *they* ſoever it were, we have no very great encouragement to truſt your Report, and that for two very good Reaſons, firſt, becauſe it is poſſible that *they* might miſinform you; and ſecondly, it is not impoſſible but that you might miſreport them to us. Did not *they* tell you, that *the very minute of the conception of my Preface was immediately upon His Majeſties iſſuing his Declaration of Indulgence to tender Conſciences?* Pag. 13. Did not *they* tell you that *about the days of Biſhop* Bramhal, *there were a ſort of Divines of the Church of* England, *who could never ſpeak of the firſt Reformers with any patience?* Pag. 43. Did not *they* tell you that *ſome of my Books are already* Pag. 46.

ready ſent beyond Sea for curioſity to the ſcandal and heart-burning of the Reformed Churches? Did not *they* tell you that
Pag. 81. *Cats are wont to whet their Claws againſt the Chairs and Hangings?* But the Virtuoſi tell me it is falſe, and that they only ſtretch themſelves by hanging their claws in them when they grow ſleepy. Did not *they* tell you that the main deſigns of my Eccleſiaſtical Policy were to aſſert the *unlimited Power* of the Civil Magiſtrate, and the abſolute ſubjection of Conſcience to all his Commands, to deſtroy the *Grace* of the Goſpel, and turn it all into a *Fable*, to recommend the *Perſecution* of tender Conſciences, and the *To-*
Pag. 123. *leration of Debauchery?* Did not they tell you that *Julian* was the moſt bloody perſecutour of all the *Roman* Emperours?
Pag. 148. Did not *they* tell you that *there were no Non-conformiſts and Presbyterians in Sardanapalus his dayes?* when there have alwayes been ill-natur'd People from the beginning of dayes. Did not *they* tell you that I who ſlew all men with my own ſingle ſtrength had two Aſſiſtants? Did not *they* tell you that *without the*
Pag. 219. *ſign of the Croſs our Church will not receive any one to Baptiſm.* Did not *they* tell you
Pag. 218. that there was a great Prelate of the Church

Church of *England* that writ a Book of the *Seven Sacraments?* Did not *they* tell you that *Auguſtus Cæſar, though he was ſo great an Emperour and ſo valiant a man,* was yet withal ſo ſhameful a Coward, as *to be as much afraid of a new word, though it were ſingle, as a Mariner of a rock for fear of ſplitting?* Did not *they* tell you that *the King has ſo obliged the Non-conformiſts, that they can never hereafter lift up an ill thought againſt him?* Did not *they* tell you that the Biſhops *did upon the publiſhing the Declaration, give the word, and deliver Orders through their Eccleſiaſtical Camp, to beat up the Pulpit-drums againſt Popery?* Did not *they* tell you that *I have all along impropriated all the Loyalty from the Nobility, the Gentry, and the Commonalty, and dedicated it to the Church?* Did not *they* that *have ſeen both* tell you, that in Arch-biſhop *Lauds* time *our Church did exceed the Romiſh in Ceremonies and Decorations?* Did not *they* tell you that I have caſt this *miſchievous aſperſion* upon His Majeſty *of thinking to convert the Revenues of the Church to his own uſe?* Did not *they* tell you that you writ your Book againſt the King and the Clergy, and the Church of *England without prophaning and violating thoſe things which*

Pag. 230.

Pag. 252.

Pag. 268.

Pag. 279.

Pag. 297.

Pag. 307.

Pag. ult.

which are and ought to be most Sacred? With an hundred idle stories more that I could tell you, if any body would believe them. But these are their leasings, and by these you may see that you have as little reason to trust your Friends as we have to trust you. It is plain, you
Pag. 280. have not *declined the acquaintance, nor avoided the Company of the Non-conformists*, you are abundantly furnish'd with *Leasings*. And we may a little judge of the Truth and Ingenuity of the rest by a *Rapper* that is still behind, and that I had
Pag. 139. almost forgot, *viz. That it was an Aphorism of a great Prelate in the last Kings time, that the King had no more to do in Ecclesiastical Matters, than Jack that rub'd his Horses heels.* I have heard, that one, who was since a great Prelate, was brought into the Long-Parliament Inquisition for such a saying as this, and that the Indictment was managed against him by *Pym* and *Rous*, and the rest of the Modern Orthodox Members that would not be *trinkled*, and though he was proceeded against with an unheard of Malice and Violence, and all the pains and arts in the world were made use of to make good the Accusation, yet the tale was so destitute of all manner of proof or evidence,

dence, that they themſelves were convinced of its falſehood, and forced for ſhame (though ſore againſt their wills) to let fall the Charge and acquit the Gentleman. So modeſt a wretch are you ſtill to keep up a calumny that has been ſo notoriouſly convicted of falſehood and impudence by nothing leſs than a Long-Parliament ſcrutiny. But this it is when men will pick up their Stories in the ſtreets, at *Charing-Croſs* and in *Lincolns-Inn-fields*, and report things upon the meer credit of vulgar hear-ſay, without ever examining their truth, nay with reſolving to put on a bold face for emproving the lye to their own purpoſe. Somewhere in all your Travels, or ſome time in all your life, you have heard ſome body tell ſome ſuch ſtory of ſome Clergy-man, though whether a Prelate or no Prelate you do not remember, and whether the Perſon that told it you, thought it credible or not, you as little care. The ſtory would ſerve your turn, and gratifie your ſpite, and ſo you reſolved the firſt Book you writ to ſet it off with all aggravating circumſtances that the world may thereby take notice of the inſolence of theſe Prelates. And in the ſtrength of your confidence it might

might have paſſed hereafter without controwl for no unlikely ſtory, were it not a Lye upon Record by having been luckily brought into Parliament. But after all, what if it were come to *Jack Gentleman?* when it was only ſpoken of ſuch ill-bred Clowns as you, that thought it the mark of their Gentility to deſpiſe a Clergy-man, and abuſe Mr. Parſon, and that would affront their own father, if they had met him upon the Road in his Canonical habit. And ſuch (eſpecially if they are broken Gameſters) I ſtill ſay are no better than *Jack Gentlemen*, I am ſure there is no true Gentleman but would ſcorn and abhorr ſuch Porterly rudeneſs, ſo that none can be concern'd in or offended at the Expreſſion, but ſuch *Jacks* as had their Breeding at *Charing-Croſs* or in *Lincolns-Inn-fields.*

And thus your Gibellineſhip having unloaded your whole Leyſtal upon the Clergy, and dreſs'd them all up in *Sambenita's*, painted with all the flames and Devils in Hell, as if they purely by vertue of their Office and Character were more addicted to all kinds of wickedneſs, eſpecially revenge, falſhood, and cruelty, than all other Orders and Profeſſions whatſoever. Which if it were true, you

have

have said enough to prevail with Kings, never hereafter to suffer such vile men to crinkle and tamper with their affairs, and though it were possible that they should light upon a man of Learning, Piety, and Wisdome, yet he will be sure to deform their whole Reigns by his Ignorance, Knavery, and Folly. Thus (I say) having rescued their Royal and exquisite Understandings from the Clergies keeping, you, notwithstanding that you were never bred up to the Trade, that you are not a competent Judge of their actions, that you are conscious to your self of *talking impertinently* when you meddle with such matters, that you correct my presumption for taking upon me to instruct Princes in the Rules and Measures of Government; Notwithstanding all this you your self take them all to task, tutor them like School-boys, read them long politick Lectures from Precept and Example, and as if you were the Skipper of the State, talk to them of nothing but Sea-marks, and Buoys, and Rocks, and Sands, and Charts, and Compasses, *&c.* And if they will not *steer by your Compass, and abate of the exercise of their Power by their discretion*, they are sure to *ruine all upon the Rock of absolute Govern-*

ment. And to gain the greater Credit and Authority to your wise Instructions, you vaunt your own great and long Ex-
Pag. 242. perience; *I my self have oftentimes seen Kings do strange things and unreasonable in my Opinion, and yet a little while, or sometimes many Years after, I have found that all the men in the World could not have contrived any thing better.* Now it seems you think your self for all your *counterfeit and impudent modesty*, a competent Judge of their Actions. But here is *Andrew de temporibus* again, what a general acquaintance have you with Kings time out of mind as well as with the Clergy of all Ages? And now by vertue of your long Experience and shrewd Observation you think your self qualified, and no man more, to be *Sir Pol.* to all the Princes in *Christendome*, and you have advised them as gravely as *Sancho* himself could have done how to govern their Islands. Such is your miserable stupidity that there is not the least imaginary Errour that you have falsely objected to me, into which you have not precipitated your self with all the Circumstances and Aggravations of an affected Cox-comb. And whoever compares your Lectures must conclude *Sancho* to be much the

deeper

deeper Politician. For the result of all your Instructions to Princes how to govern well is to advise them not to govern at all; *because the Body is in the power of the mind, and the mind in the hand of God, so that to punish the body for the mind is to make the Innocent suffer for the Guilty, and to punish the mind, when it is in the hand of God is to violate the Divine Majesty.* And now if both the minds and the bodies of his Majesties Subjects are entirely exempt by Divine Right from his Authority, what a mighty Emperour was *Sancho* in comparison to the Kings of *England*, for you know how he served *Mr. Doctor Pedro Rezio* of *Agnero* when he would not suffer him to eat his meat at quiet, and though his body were in the power of his mind, and his mind in the hands of God, yet for all that *his Highness* made bold to lay his Doctorship neck and heels for his Impertinency, whereas according to your *Measures*, when the King suffer'd the Law to pass upon *Hugh Peters* and Colonel *Venner*, *he did not only violate his own but the Divine Majesty.* And though the Cow-keeper declared War point-blank for God himself, yet he had his outward Tabernacle fairly suspended, by a mere carnal, humane In- Pag. 250.

ſtitution, for which the judge muſt expect to give an account at the day of Judgment *for violating the Divine Majeſty*. But in truth this ſolemn and frowning Non-ſenſe is ſo horribly ridiculous, that I am perfectly aſhamed to expoſe it. And yet it is the reſult not only of your own Book, but of all the Books of your own Party, whilſt they make the Conſcience ſubject to God alone, and impute all the Actions of the outward man to that inward Principle, and then what has the Magiſtrate to do with any of his Subjects, when their bodies are purely in the power of their minds, & their minds in the power of God. There is avaſt deal more of ſuch wretched ſtuff that I ſhall paſs by, becauſe I perceive every body has wit enough to diſcern it at firſt ſight by their own natural Sagacity. Only one deep Aphoriſm I cannot omit, no more than you can your *idle ſtories*, becauſe Kings may make uſe of it for their own advantage, *viz. that as reaſonable men are to* Pag. 230. *be govern'd by reaſon, ſo are Conſciencious men by Conſcience*. What you mean I neither know nor care, but this advantage I can make of it for the uſe of Kings, that then his Majeſties Conſcience (if you will allow him any) has a Sovereignty over the

the Consciences of his Subjects, and since blasphemous Consciences have been conscienciously burnt, and rebellious Consciences conscienciously hang'd, 'tis a powerful Evidence of the Necessity of a Consciencious Government in the Kingdom of Conscience, and that his Majesty as he knows best may conscienciously reduce all sturdy Consciences to acquiesce conscienciously in his and the Churches most consciencious Discipline. For as he has a royal Understanding and a Gentlemans Memory, so has he an imperial and superlative Conscience, by virtue whereof he is able to exercise a Consciencious Dominion over ten thousands of his Consciencious little Kings, and by virtue of this it was that *Hugh Peters* being a reasonable man was reasonably hang'd, and a consciencious man was conscienciously hang'd; and if ever hereafter the Consciences of any Subjects shall drill them into the like consciencious Freaks against the sovereign Conscience, that may inflict the same consciencious Punishment upon them by virtue of its consciencious Authority; and this I take to be the only Consciencious meaning of these words that Consciencious men are to be dealt with only by Conscience. And thus

though by your former Maxim you had deposed him from exercising any Authority over his Subjects, yet now by this you have reenthroned him in his full Power by making his Conscience King of their Consciences; so that it concerns him to look to his Conscience lest he lose his Kingdom, in that they will not have their Consciences governed by any thing but Conscience. But seeing there is little hopes of perswading his Majesty out of his Government, you procede in the next place to prescribe him worthipful Rules and Measures how to manage it discreetly by a prepositerous duty and slavish regard to the Will and Insolence of his Subjects. Not a word, in all your Book, of exhortation to them to be obedient, all your Advice is thrown away upon Kings to be discreet and to connive, and not like the hard-hearted-inflexible-tyrant Clergy exasperate the People to Rebellion by the *extravagancy* of their just Power, but to be *so satisfied with having abundance of it, as to be content to abate of its exercise by their discretion.* To condescend for peace sake and the quiet of Mankind to such things as would break a proud heart before it would bend (you are all for humbling

of

of Kings;) not to exact obedience too much to the eſtabliſh'd Laws, leſt they require things impoſſible, unneceſſary and wanton of their People: upon all Occaſions to give them good words and humour them like Children, to conſider the Temper of the Climate, the Conſtitutions of their Bodies and the Antipathies of their Stomachs. And if all this will not prevail, but his Majeſty ſtill prove a ſtubborn and untractable Pupil, he muſt be taught to *reflect upon the hiſtories* of former times, and conſider the Cataſtrophes of ſuch pragmatical Kings and Governours, as would not humour their Subjects like Children nor conſider their Infirmities, and when they had *got a cold* force them to be covered. Sir, what do you mean by all this? Do you not think the King a well-bred Gentleman that you read him theſe Lectures of Civility, as if he were not reſpectful and mannerly enough to his Subjects? *If you do not mean miſchief, why do you ſpeak of it in his time? Why ſtir ſuch an odious, ſeditious, impertinent, unſeaſonable diſcourſe? Why take this very minute of time but that you have miſchief, to ſay no worſe, in your heart? This is plainly written with an evil eye and aim at his Majeſty, and the* Pag. 278. Pag. 318. Pag. 264.

measures he has taken of Government. For if he be so uncivil as not to condescend to his Inferiours, so indiscreet as not to connive at their Infirmities, so inhumane as not to yield to their Weaknesses, so ill-bred as not to desire them to be covered when they have *got a Cold.* Nay if he be so hard-hearted as when any of them have an Antipathy to any thing (for instance a Flemish Antipathy to Monarchy, a Conscienceious Antipathy to Obedience and a Fanatick Antipathy to Morality) as to cram these things down their throats in spite of their stomachs, he is an hard-hearted and inflexible Tyrant, and then every body knows the stories of the Roman Emperour that was stab'd, of *Alexander* the Great that had almost lost all, of the Queen of *Sweden* that was forced to resign, of the sturdy *Swiss* that would not conform, and all the other idle stories, that they know how to make use of, if Kings will not. But I beseech you what grounds have you for these fears and jealousies of Incivility? Did his Majesty ever *turn his Kingdom into a Prison? Did he ever weary out his Subjects so at home, as to constrain them to seek a more hospitable habitation among Salvages and Canibals abroad?* This was

the

the incivility that deformed his Fathers Reign, and the *Rock* upon which we all ruined; but the King observes his Seamarks, and has learnt more manners, and is not so uncivil as *Alexander* the Great and his Royal Father were, as to force them to rebel by forcing them to conform. And though I have not the honour to be so intimately acquainted with his Majesty as to give him a Testimonial of the unblameableness of his Life and Conversation, as you have very obligingly done, yet thus much I dare say for him, that he is as civil and good-natured a Prince as ever wielded the English Sceptre, so that you need not doubt but that he will upon all occasions give his Subjects good-words, though they give him bad ones, and humour them like Children, though they are never so froward and deserve to be scourged. And therefore, during his Reign, you have no more ground to fear any danger of Incivility than I have of Popery; so unnecessary and unseasonable are your Lectures of good manners at this time, when his Majesty (God be praised) is as well provided of a Royal Nature as a Gentlemans Memory. Thus far have you instructed

ſtructed him how to govern his Iſland by way of Precept, but now we procede to the more inſtructive Topick of Example; and here you have ſtrung up (as *Sancho* did his Proverbs) an hundred *idle ſtories* of the *fatal Cataſtrophe* of ill-bred and uncivil Kings, to fright him into meekneſs and good manners; to which you might (in my opinion) have added one more, how the Subjects of Great *Britain* (becauſe their King would not humour them like Children, when they had a mind to play with his Crown) nip'd his Prerogative, ſuck'd his Blood, ſubverted his Government, and ſet up a glorious Regiment of their own. I verily believe to have trumpeted this in his Majeſty's ears (as much as I am out of your Books for it) would have been a more pertinent ſtory for the uſe of Princes than *Alexander* the Great that had almoſt loſt all, the Roman Emperor that was ſtabb'd, the ſturdy Swiſs that would not conform, and the frolickſom Queen that gave the blank Town ſeal, *of which there came no harm.* But yet from theſe you threaten Kings with as much *Effrontery*, as if you had them ſtanding before you upon the Stool of Repentance, whilſt you lecture to them with the ſtate of King *Gill* Scotch

modern

modern Orthodoxy, with politick Notes and Observations upon Emperors Roman and Grecian, Kings and Queens, Schoolboys and Schoolmasters. I shall as briefly as I can examine them, to prove you as very a Rat-historian as I have proved you a Rat-divine.

Your first Tale is of a Roman Emperour, who *when his Captain of the Life-guard came for the word, by giving it unhandsomly, receiv'd a dagger.* I suppose you mean *Caligula*, who (as *Suetonius* relates) was stabb'd by *Sabinus*, whilst he gave the word (not as you will have it) *for giving it unhandsomly*, the murther having been plotted aforehand, and though *Josephus* (you know) had a peculiar grudge against that Emperour, as a most implacable enemy to the Jewish Nation, and therefore to disgrace him as much as he can, affirms that he was stabb'd immediately upon giving for the *Word* the name of a lewd woman (though in *Suetonius* the *Word* is *Jupiter*, the most sacred *Word* in their Religion) yet will you there find that it was the execution of a premeditated Conspiracy, and that the main cause of it was his frequent railing upon this Captains cowardize. This is a Caveat to Kings, not to presume too much Pag. 244.

much upon their own Wit, and their Subjects good nature, and if they will be drolling upon them, they may thank themselves if they receive a Dagger for a Repartee. I have heard of another Roman Emperour, who gave the Sword to the Captain of his Guard, requiring him to use it for his defence, if he govern'd well; but if not, to turn the point of it against himself. As also of a Prince of *Brabant*, who granted to his Subjects, if himself or any of his Successours should ever attempt to violate their Ancient Priviledges, a full Power of proceeding to the Election of a New Governour, what disturbances ensued hereupon, and how Kings approve the example I know not, but this I do know, that it was very weakly done to submit their Actions so entirely to the judgement of their Subjects, and put it within the power of any Malecontent either to murther or depose them. But being got into the *Roman Empire*, I am (you know) in my own kingdom, and therefore when you ask me, whether *had I lived in the dayes of Augustus, I should not have made an excellent Privy Counsellour to him? for his Father too was murther'd.* I would have been Privy Counsellour to *Augustus* with all

Pag. 241.

all my ſoul, were it not that he reign'd ſo long ago; ſo that had I ever been of *His* Privy Council, I muſt either have been dead fifteen hundred years ſince, or at leaſt have been ſo very old, that by this time I ſhould have been altogether unfit for any publique employment, though I had deſcended of your family of the *de Temporibus*, otherwiſe I know not any Emperour of them all of whoſe acquaintance I ſhould have been more ambitious. He was a Prince admirable for the wiſdom and magnanimity of his mind, for the ſweetneſs and facility of his manners, he was one that delighted in nothing more than the entertainments of wit and ingenuity. *Virgil*, and *Horace*, and *Varius* were admitted into his retired and cabinet Converſation, as well as *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, they were not only his Domeſticks, but his Familiars and his Confidents, they converſed and laughed together as friends and companions. And now who would not take it kindly to be honour'd with the favour and familiarity of ſo great a Prince, a Prince of ſo good and ſo ſweet a diſpoſition, a Prince ſo *free from froth and groans*, a Prince ſo much to be admired, for that *Majeſty which ſat upon the forehead of his Maſculine*

line Truth and generous Honesty. But had I been of his Privy Council, I am confident I should never have given him my Advice to sacrifice three hundred of the Nobles and Citizens of the best Quality to the Ghost of his murther'd Father, because his Natural Father old *Octavius* was not murther'd, but being a Civil Gentleman of private condition and breeding, and never having suffer'd any of his Tenants to be uncover'd when they had got a cold, dyed quietly as he lived. But as for his Unkle *J. Cæsar* his adopted Father, the case is plain, he was a bold and venturesom Gamester, that *out-trinkled* the Senate, and cheated them of the Empire of the whole world (for it was an usual thing for the Gamesters of those dayes to throw at all.) Now this was too great a stake to be rook'd of, and they such *implacable Gamesters*, that out of pure revenge, when they had lost all, and he would refund nothing, they made no more ado but stabb'd him, though as for your part you are the most irreconcileable *Loser* I ever heard of, you are not content to wreck your malice upon the man that cheated you, but for his sake you run *a muck* at the whole Profession, and vow the destruction of all

Clergy-

Clergy-men dead or alive, that ever were or ever ſhall be. However had I been *Mecænas*, I would have ſtrugled a little more than two dayes before I would have ſuffer'd him to abandon *Cicero* to *Mark Anthonies* revenge, whom it ſeems (for he was a great Gameſter too) nothing would ſatisfie but his enemies life, only becauſe he had ſo horribly paid him off in the Parliament Houſe with ſharp ſpeeches, which it ſeems the Great Man when he was run down call'd railing. But *Auguſtus* was bound in honour to protect him, not only out of reſpect to his wit and eloquence, but becauſe he was the Creatour and firſt Patron of his own fortune. In that by his means he firſt gain'd the good affection of the Lords of the Senate, and by their means (you know) he at length obtain'd an *unhoopable Empire*. Though indeed ſome of your State-Politicians are willing enough to excuſe him, in that, firſt, if *Cicero* did him any ſervice, it was not out of any love to him, but out of hatred to *Anthony* (for Senatours too are implacable in their Picques as well as Divines and Gameſters) but chiefly out of affection to the Senate, becauſe it ſeems there himſelf Reign'd, juſt as the Preſbyterians, when it was too late, would have joyn'd

joyn'd with the Royalists, not out of any kindness to the King and his Party, but hatred to *Cromwel* and his Sectaries, and zeal for their holy Discipline, by which they hoped at last to rule all, and set their feet upon the necks of Kings. And secondly, because it was necessary to remove the fiercest of all Factions out of the way, for the quiet and establishment of his new design'd Monarchy. In that the most obstinate both of the Nobles and Commons being singled out in this bloody Proscription, and the *odium* of the cruelty (by the cunning behaviour of *Augustus*) lying upon *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, when he had once rid his hands of them, he was pretty secure ever after from being troubled with any attempts of the old democratical Gentlemen to recover the old democratical Liberty: So that by this means he had no need of one of your High-Courts of Justice, that ungrateful work was done to his hand by these wicked men. Or if he had been put to it, he would never have been so bloody as the late Tyrant was, who would not be satisfied with the Kings murther, but went on to assassinate such other of the Nobility, that had been most eminent for Courage and Loyalty, only to terrifie the Kings

Loyal

Loyal Subjects from all attempts of their duty, and indeed to affright them out of the Kingdom, when they saw their lives every day at the mercy of a rude and a spiteful Tyrant. And you know when it was put to the question at a Council of War, whether all the Royallists should be massacred, and carried in the negative by no more than two Votes. But now how all this story of *Augustus* comes in, I cannot imagine, for I do not remember that I have any where perswaded the King to a *Proscription*, at least it might have been pertinent before the Kings Judges had made satisfaction to Justice, but to what purpose it serves now, I profess again is past my understanding. The next shred of History belongs to the King of *Poland's Taylour-Parliament*, who *because the King would not wear their Mode, have suffer'd the Turk to enter, as coming nearer their fashion.* Pag. 244. If the King of *Poland* have a *Taylour* then he is no *unhoopable Prince.* But in this (as I take it) you are flatly contradicted by the more authentick testimony of your own Gazets, and I do not believe this is yet recorded in any other History. However Parliaments may learn from hence, if the King will not be ruled to call in *Turks* and *Scots*, and that is ano-

ther Principle of *Modern Orthodoxy*. And it has so vile an *Innuendo* (as Lawyers speak in actions for scandalous words,) that if it have any reference to our King, of whom you are speaking all along, and bringing your reasons and re-inforcements for gratifying the Non-conformists, it is an impudent entrenchment upon his Majesties Crown and Prerogative. For the *Polish* Kingdome being Elective and not Hereditary, the Parliament deal with their Kings, as the Subjects of King *Gill*, and King *Osbolston* are wont at certain seasons of the year to deal with their Sovereign Masters, barr him out, and keep him out, till he subscribe first to what Articles and Conditions they are pleased to prescribe him, or else there is no coming in there for him to play *Rex* among them. Friend, you dance upon the high-ropes, and by your Politique Lectures endanger your head as well as your neck. 'Tis unsafe to play tricks so high, as you do when you meddle with his Majesties Crown, and compare it with that of *Poland* (for else you bring it in impertinently) when our *English* Constitutions know no *Interregnum*, nor is it in the Power of our Parliaments to choose or refuse what King they please. Take heed, remember what

the Turk did when he mounted the high Rope, if you will be shewing your ambitious Activity, it is lightly you will some time or other break your Neck.

From the King of *Poland* according to the method of your Chronology you march over all the Roman and Turkish Empire, and there find 1900. years ago an Instance to prove of what dangerous Consequence it is to impose new fashions upon the People, *for even* Alexander *the great had almost lost all he had conquered by forcing his Subjects to conform to the Persian habit.* Take it for a warning, O ye Kings, (how great soever) how you impose fashions whether of Tunicks or Pantaloons upon your Subjects, for even *Alexander* the Great lost all the East-*Indies*, Medes, Persians, *Asia*, *Africa*, as far as the Mountains of the Moon, and the Head of *Nilus*, died a beggar, was outed of all his Conquests, and all for forcing his Subjects to conform. If you would have a Law enacted that no man shall hereafter dare to bring over any new Fashions from *France*, but that Vests, Perukes, Tunicks, Cimarrs, *&c.* shall continue the English fashion inviolable and unaltered to all Ages, let the Tire-men and Tire-women look to it, Pag. 244.

and see you answered, I am not concerned. But he that runs may all along read your design of *Modern Orthodoxy*, and instructing wise Princes to look to it, have a care what they do, and force not their Subjects to conform to any habit civil or sacred, in that *Alexander* the Great had almost lost all he had conquer'd by forcing his Subjects to conform. But this is one of your *leasings*, for *Alexander* the Great never lost a foot of what he had conquer'd, and therefore not almost all, but died unconquer'd, and to his dying day lost not one foot either by seeming Friend or Foe, Grecian or Persian, by forcing his Subjects to conform or not conform. Will you never be ashamed of your Leasings? But as for the great danger that *Alexander* was in, as I remember, it followed a fair time after and arose from another Cause, *viz.* that he disowned *Philip* for his Father, and would by all means be complemented as the Son of *Jupiter*, it was this which gave occasion to the sedition for which *Philotas* died. But if this goodly story were true and you would prove any thing out of it, it signifies nothing but against King and Parliament for making a Law to force all Subjects to conform to their habit and fashi-

on,

on, and is only a ſly inſinuation againſt the fooliſh Act of Uniformity, by which they have not only expoſed their Wiſdom to after Ages, but endanger'd all at Preſent; for *Alexander* the Great, &c.

The next Story is of the King of *Spain*, who, *when upon a Progreſs he enters* Biſcay, *is pleaſed to ride with one Leg naked, and above all to take care that there be not any Biſhop in his Retinue.* From hence be adviſed O Kings, whenever you take a Pilgrimage for *Scotland*, to travel bare-footed, and to take no Biſhop in your Retinue, as you would avoid a ſolemn League and a Kirk-rebellion. Though if you will yield to ſtand upon the Stool of Repentance, and there ſuffer Maſs *John* to rate both your ſelf and your royal Anceſtors for a Succeſſion of Lowns and Tyrants, and acknowledge the ſins of your houſe and your own former ways, and give ſatisfaction to the People of God in both Kingdoms, and take all this with Kingly wiſdom and meekneſs, they may perhaps preſent him as the Biſcains do the King of *Spain* with a leather-bag full of Maravides (60. whereof make a Crown) but yet withal forbid him to touch it with the end of his Lance. Or if his Engliſh Subjects ſhould grow ſo capricious, that no- Pag. 244.

thing will please them but the King must appear ridiculously before them to make them sport and humour them like Children, he must be wise and gratifie their Childishness, as the King of *Spain* does the Biscainers, lest they grow touchy, angry and rebel. And as for what you suggest of their Scotch Antipathy to Bishops, from thence it is come to pass that they are become the most Barbarous People of all *Europe*, always excepting the afore-excepted the *Canibals of the Race of Capons*; so as that they will not have any Traffick with any other Countreys, nor mix with any other People for fear of corrupting their Language and Gentility, though that is little better than *wild Irish*, and they little better than *Jack-gentlemen*. And though they have some dark and general Notions of Christianity still remaining among them, yet are they since their Picque against Bishops fallen into such rudeness and ignorance, that they have scarce any knowledge at all of the particular Articles of their Faith and Precepts of their Religion; and so it must be, wherever there is no superiour Clergy, the poor Parish-priests will in process of time become as ignorant and barbarous as the Common People.

The

The next Story is of a *Certain Tyrant that demanded ſubſidies of ſo many Buſhels of Fleas.* But becauſe you will not or cannot tell us when or where this ſame Tyrant does or did live, nor what his Name is or was, I have good reaſon to ſuſpect either that it is but an idle Story or be ſome Jack Gentleman. Though what you would make of it I cannot deviſe, unleſs it be that if the King ſhould impoſe ſome trivial things and ceremonies as are in your Judgment not worth a Flea, and fine or puniſh the People for Non-payment of ſuch Niceties, he had as good be quiet, and would get but little by diſtraining, and ſhould be called Tyrant for his pains. So that if the King exact Obedience and Uniformity to the eſtabliſh'd Laws, he is worſe than the Flea-tyrant, ſeeing the Non-conformiſts cannot pay it in Conſcience, and ſeeing withal they deſire no Alteration, *but what is ſo far from doing us any harm, that it would only make us better.* Pag. 244.

The next is a Story of a *certain Queen that being deſired to give a Town-ſeal, ſat down naked on the Snow and left them that Impreſſion*, and other Town-ſeal could they get none for their hearts, if they would be content with that, well and good, ſhe would part with no other, *and* Pag. 245.

though it caused no disturbance, yet Kings do not approve the Example. But if it caused no disturbance the Story might have been spared. But how come you to know that Kings do not approve of the Example, that you dare thus confidently publish their Opinion, when I dare say you cannot name two Kings that ever heard the story. Will you never learn Modesty? But why do you not tell us the Name of this Queen, and City, and Countrey? It could not be the Queen of the Amazons, because her whole Territorie, as Travellers, that have been there, tell me, lies within the Tropicks and just under the Equinoctial, and there they tell me too it never snows. So that I doubt it must be the Queen that reigns in *Terra incognita*, Dowager to the Tyrant that has his subsidys paid him in Fleas by the Bushel, measured to him in good Tale by Jack Gentleman. But whoever she was or wherever she lived the Politick Emprovement of her story runs thus. There was a certain German Princess (bold *Bettrice* by name) that being either mad or maudlin played a sluttish Trick somewhere before the worshipful Mr. Mayor and his Brethren, and though their Worships were not so implacably offended at her Majesties

ſties rudeneſs, as preſently to paſs a Vote of common Council for taking up Arms to revenge the Affront, ſo that there followed no diſturbance in the State from the extravagance of the frolick, yet Kings that never heard of it do not (as they have told you their minds) approve of the Example. But rather take it for a warning to behave themſelves mannerly and modeſtly before their Subjects. Though I cannot ſee why they ſhould be ſo much deterr'd from it by this Example, when no harm that we read of enſued upon this freakiſh uſe of her Prerogative. But had the Conſequences proved never ſo fatal, I am apt to think that Kings, though you had not repreſented them, would not have been very forward to approve or follow the Example, becauſe *Royal Senſe* can never be much delighted with ſitting upon the cold Snow.

The next is a Queen too, and ſhe almoſt as bold a Virago as the former whoever ſhe was, and it is the Queen of *Sweden* who ſaid *Io non voglio governar le beſtie*, but afterwards reſign'd. But I don't believe ſhe underſtood one word of Italian before ſhe went to *Rome*, or if ſhe did it is certain the People of *Sweden* did not, ſo that though ſhe did ſpeak to her People Pag. 245.

that

that displeasing word *Bestie*, I do not see how that could cause her Resignation. But the true and manifest Reasons of it were on her Subjects part, their natural fierceness and inclination to wars, that made them loath to be bestrid by a Petticoat, and therefore they lean'd to her Kinsman the General, and her declared Successour; and on her own part a capricious desire of foreign Travel and Conversation with more refined wits. But however from hence let Princes be instructed to flatter the meanest of the People, lest if they speak contemptibly of them, they depose them for their morosenes and want of breeding.

The next Novel is of the Revolt of *Switzerland* from the Emperour and its turning Common-wealth, only upon occasion of imposing a civil Ceremony by a capricious Governour, who set up a Pole in the high-way with a Cap upon the top of it, to which he would have all passengers to be uncover'd, and do obeysance. But one sturdy *Swiss* that would not conform, thereupon over-turn'd the Government, as it is at large in history. One sturdy *Swiss* that would not conform—this is your Modern Orthodox Language—that would not conform— so *Alexander* the

the Great had almoſt loſt all, becauſe he would force his Subjects to conform—But to what would he not conform? not to a Civil Ceremony; a Civil Ceremony! how much leſs to a Religious Ceremony, that is no leſs than an *as-it-were-a-Sacrament*. But however to give you the ſhort of the ſtory it runs thus. The *Switzers* were declared a Free People ſome hundreds of years before for their good ſervice againſt the *Saracens*, and at the time you ſpeak of they had no deſire to renounce their dependence upon the Empire, but upon the Houſe of *Auſtria* as an *Hereditary Fee*. And their caſting off their Obedience to the *Prefect* ſent by the Emperour *Albert* of that Family, was contrived long enough before the Hat was ſet upon the Pole, and this not by a Rout and Tumult, but by the direction of the Chief Magiſtrate the Baron of *Altinghuſe*. But the *Prefect* knowing of the deſign (to make ſhort work of it) ſet up the Cap and Pole as a tryal and diſcovery of the Malecontents. So that this was no more the cauſe of their revolt, than the Kings ſetting up the Royal Standard at *Nottingham* was of the long-Parliaments Rebellion, who had before in ſeveral caſes challenged, and as far as they were able, ſeiſed on, his Power,

and

and by consequence deposed him from his Sovereignty. From hence let wise Princes beware of forcing their Subjects to be uncover'd unseasonably, *i. e.* whenever they have *got a cold*, or are out of humour; and it is good advice to the Parliament to have a special care that they injoyn not the Quakers nor others to put off their Hats, whether in Courts of Judicature, the Parliament House, or Chambers of Presence, nor injoyn them a Leg, or a Cringe, or a Bow as they love the Kingdom, for one sturdy *Swiss* that would not conform, *&c.* And that which is more material good Sir *Pol.* you may hence infer, that they had need make a Law, and Enact, that no Wagg by any trick, wile, or stratagem in earnest or jest use any endeavours to make men put off their Hats, as they pass by the three Poles at *Tyburn*, for fear of turning the Kingdom into a Common-wealth again, if they will be wise, see the consequences, and observe the Sea-marks, for one sturdy *Swiss* that would not conform. This is right *Modern Orthodoxy*, and you had done well to have added the judgement of a Professour of it in the Corporation of *Losarne*, scituate on the *Lake* of *Lemane*, on what point of the Compass (you Travellers

vellers are ſo critical) I dare not determine, though this I dare, that it is not far from the Town of *Geneva*. *Viz. That it was well done of the* Switzers *to free themſelves of their ſubjection to the Houſe of* Auſtria, *when the Princes of that Houſe had exerciſed more than ordinary cruelty in moſt parts of the Countrey*; *as* David *might lawfully have kill'd* Saul, *though he did forbear to do it, leſt he ſhould give an example to the people of Iſrael of killing their Kings, which other men prompted by Ambition might be like enough to imitate* againſt himſelf and his Royal Poſterity. Becan. Inc. Commun.

The King of *Spains* loſing *Flanders* is the laſt piece of News that makes up this Gazet, and this hapned (according to the information of your Correſpondent) by ſetting up the Inquiſition. But this ſtory is ſo like that of *Alexander* the Great, that I need only deny it, and ſay, that as *Alexander* dyed ſeiſed of all his Acquiſts and Conqueſts; ſo neither has the King of *Spain* loſt *Flanders* by the Inquiſition, becauſe it is in force there to this day, as you may ſee and feel too, if you will but take a voyage to *Oſtend* with an *Engliſh* Bible in your hand, and talk there as freely of the Clergy of the Church of *Rome* as you have here of the Clergy of the Church

Church of *England*. And as for the *United Provinces* it is evident that he was ſtript of them by the Fate of War, and whatever was the cauſe of the War was the occaſion of his loſs. And that (as it uſually happens in the like caſes) was ſet on foot by divers concurrent accidents, as bringing in Spaniſh and Italian Forces by *Charles* the fifth in his Wars againſt *France*, a grievance unknown to the Flemmings in the Reign of former Princes, and it was againſt theſe foreign Troops that the States made the firſt Remonſtrance. The natural Inſolence of the Spaniards that could not but exaſperate the peoples hatred againſt their pride and oppreſſion. The peculiar haughtineſs of *Philip* the ſecond, that made him neglect and diſoblige the Natives, and confer all Offices of Truſt and Honour upon Strangers. His abſence from the Provinces, and leaving them to the Government of a ſubordinate Miniſter, whereas they had always ſhared in the reſidence of all former Princes. And if you will conſult the Prince of *Oranges* Declaration in the head of his Army, you will find the main grievance to be this, that the States of the Provinces were forcibly reſtrain'd from holding, according to cuſtom, their general

Aſſemblies,

Assemblies. But besides all this the *Netherlands* were the very Sanctuary and Rendevouz of all the Calvinists from *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, and the Anabaptists from *Westphalia* and other parts, and these quickly poison'd the people with their own principles of Sedition and Anarchy, so that being, before the Government was aware, grown strong and numerous, that made work for the Inquisition, which though it soon check'd their growth, yet it did little towards a total suppression of the Party, partly by reason of the tenderness of the Dutchess of *Parma* the then Regent, and partly by the Envy and Ambition of the Belgick Lords, who underhand opposed all proceedings against Sectaries and Hereticks, and encouraged their seditious practices, so that between them both the wise and resolute Ministry of *Granvel* was rendred not only successless but withal odious to the people. For as he was a man of extraordinary Wisdome, Courage, and Fidelity, that sincerely pursued his Masters interest, faithfully executed his Commands, and kept up the height of his Authority; so being an *Implacable Divine*, he saw to the bottom of the Projects that were carried on by the discontented Lords, and fore-

saw

saw the tendency of Factions in Religion to disorders and seditions in the State. And therefore was severe and rigorous in the execution of Laws, as knowing that nothing else could ever reduce the people to any peaceable temper after they were once possess'd with such ill Principles and ill humours. But for this by the advice of the Dutchess and importunity of the Lords he was removed, and the rigour of Edicts remitted, and that for the present seem'd to appease all tumults and discontents. But by that means the dissenting and discontented Party in a little time grew so considerable as to put the King upon his former resolutions of force and rigour, but it was now too late, they were grown too strong for the Government. When the Venom was too far spread, they applyed the Antidote, that did then rather irritate than expel the Poison. And now too late the Dutchess of *Parma* saw and bemoan'd her loss of *Granvil*. But so the War broke out with that bruitish rage and fury of the people, that their Leaders repented their own rashness, and join'd when it was to no purpose with the Governess to suppress Tumults and Insurrections. And what were the Events and Traverses of that

long

long and bloody War you know better than I, it is enough that at length in the middest of these Confusions the Estates of the Provinces take an opportunity to seize the Government into their own hands, and set up a new Common-wealth and a new Religion. And this (as an ingenious Gentleman tells me) was not a little advantaged by a particular Accident, *viz.* Whereas in most, if not all other parts in *Christendom*, the Clergy composed one of the three Estates of the Countrey, and thereby shared with the Nobles and Commons in their influences upon the Government; That order never made any part of the Estates in *Holland*, nor had any vote in their Assembly, which consisted only of the Nobles and the Cities, and this Province bearing always the greatest sway in the Councils of the Union, was most inclined to the settlement of that Profession, which gave least pretence of Power or Jurisdiction to the Clergy, and though he applies the Observation only to Religion, yet it is as true of the Government, in that as we all know the Estates of *Holland* were the head of the Rebellion: so that after all your Politiques you see that the King of *Spain* lost the *United Provinces* purely for want of *Trinklers*. But

ſuppoſing the truth of your ſtory, the conſequence you would make of it is to deter Princes from exerciſing an Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction over the Conſciences of their Subjects, leſt they exaſperate ſuch as are *tender* into Rebellion. Or becauſe the Church of *Rome* abuſe their Government into Tyranny, therefore we muſt have none at all.

And now it were worth while to know what your meaning ſhould be to beat up and down thus induſtriouſly through all Hiſtories for ſuch *idle ſtories* as theſe, and then to apply them as Caveats and Sea-marks, and directions to Princes, without ever being in the leaſt concern'd to caution Subjects againſt the like wantonneſs upon the like occaſions. What elſe can your meaning be but to inform the world what ſlight pretences will ſerve the turn at ſome lucky junctures of affairs both to cauſe and to warrant Rebellion. And the reſult of all your diſcourſe as addreſſ'd to his Majeſty amounts to this, that by theſe examples he may learn to condeſcend to the childiſh humours of his Subjects, and give place to their follies and extravagances whenever they grow headſtrong, and have a mind to take advantage of being quarrelſom for every trifle.

'Tis wise advice, and such as would quickly make him so glorious a King, as the Long-parliament made his father, who gain'd so little by his condescensions to their peevishness that he thereby only emboldned them in their Impudence, till in a little time no less would satisfie them, but to demand the whole Sovereignty it self, and when it was denyed them, to fight for it. In short, I can make neither more or less of all this politique Lecture to his Majesty than I can of *Bradshaws* speech at the High Court of Justice, where he justifies their proceedings by raking up (as you have done) Examples Ancient and Modern of killing and deposing such Tyrant and Traytour Kings, as would be forcing *their Subjects to conform.* But beside the wise instructions you have drop'd upon his Majesty and all other Sovereign Princes *to humour their Subjects like Children*, and to use their Power with so much caution and tenderness, that they may not have any pretence of disturbance howsoever capticious and unreasonable, *i. e.* in short to beware of governing their people for fear of offending them. Beside this general care for the welfare of Mankind, your sage Wisdom extends it self to the Kingdoms of *Gill* and *Osholston*, and

wonderfully concern'd you are to ſettle and preſerve a good Underſtanding between Uthers and School-boys, and to this end have you enrich'd the Politiques of the World with divers ſhrewd and enlightning Obſervations againſt the Illegal and Arbitrary Government of whipping

Pag. 88. School-maſters. "I never remarked ſo "irreconcileable and implacable a Spirit "as that of Boys againſt their School-ma- "ſters or Tutours. The quarrels of their "education have an influence upon their "Memories and Underſtandings for ever "after (then they are not Gentlemen.) "They cannot ſpeak of their Teachers "with any patience or civility, and "their diſcourſe is never ſo flippant nor "their Wit ſo fluent as when you put "them upon that Theme. Nay, I have "heard old men, otherwiſe ſober, peace- "able, and good natur'd, who never "could forgive *Osbolſton*, as the younger "are ſtill inveighing againſt Dr. *Busby*. It "were well that both old and young "would reform this Vice, and conſider "how eaſie a thing it is upon particular "Grudges, and as they conceive out of "a juſt cenſure to ſlip either *into Invective* "*Petulancy or inveterate Uncharitableneſs.*

Pag. 243. 'Tis all remarqued like a Senatour, *that reflects*

reflects upon the Histories of former Times and the present transactions to regulate himself by in every Circumstance. Though yet here, methinks, you shew more kindness to the Prerogative of School-masters than to that of Kings, in that you address your advice of Peace and Condescension as well to the Subject as the Sovereign, whereas in your former Admonitions you applied your self and your sage discourses of Moderation to the Government alone, without the least intimation of advice to Subjects to beware of peevishness and incivility to their Superiours. However it is to be hoped that Schoolmasters will hereafter lay aside their Rods and their Ferula's to avoid these *implacable Grudges of juvenile Petulancy*, and learn by the Example of their brother Kings *to condescend to* their Boys *for peace sake and the quiet of Boykind, and upon all occasions to give them good words and humour them like Children, and from all these fatal consequences* of whipping, *which can only serve as sea marks unto wise* Schoolmasters, *to avoid the causes.* And never hereafter to brandish their Rods against Truants, Loiterers and Rob-orchards, remembring the implacable Ballads of *Tom Triplet*, the

stabbing of the Roman Emperor, the Tailor-Parliament of *Poland*, the danger of *Alexander*, the King of *Spain*'s progress into *Biscai*, the Resignation of the Queen of *Sweden*, the Revolts of *Switzerland* and the Low-countreys, *and an hundred*
Pag. 246. *more that I could tell you but idle stories, and yet Kings* and Schoolmasters *can tell*
Pag. 87. *how to make use of them; for where there is so great a resemblance in the Effects, there must be some parallel in the Causes.* (You have put *Tacitus* his nose out of joint for sententious Politicks.) But above all it concerns them *to consider that God has in-*
Pag. 249. *stated them in the Government of their Subjects with that incumbrance of Reason, and that incumbrance upon reason of Conscience* (as if Conscience were an incumbrance upon Reason and Reason upon Government.) *Men therefore are to be dealt with reasonably and conscientious men by conscience. And then that the Body is in the power of the Mind, so that corporal Punishments do never reach the Offender, but the innocent suffers for the guilty. And the mind is in the hand of God, and cannot correct those persuasions which upon the best of its natural Capacity it has collected, and therefore to punish that is to violate the divine Majesty.* To what purpose is it to

scourge

ſcourge the *outward Boy*, your corporal puniſhments never reach the Offender but the innocent ſuffers for the guilty: it is the mind that is the truant and the dunce, and if that will not con its Leſſon, is it juſtice that the poor innocent Backſide ſhould do penance for anothers ſloth and idleneſs? It is only for implacable Divines to be thus cruel and ſanguinary. And then *as for the Mind that is in the hand of God, and cannot correct* thoſe falſe Concords and unlucky Tricks *which upon the beſt of its natural Capacity it has collected, ſo that to puniſh that is to violate the divine Majeſty*. And now lay by your Rods, my Maſters, break your Ferula's, burn your Grammars, tear in pieces your Dictionaries and your conſtruing Books, mure up yout School-doors, leave your declining of Nouns and Verbs, conſtrue no more Greek and Latin, break up School, and keep an univerſal Play-day throughout the whole Nation, for Truants muſt not be whipt, and if you attempt to take down their Breeches, you offer plain violence to the Laws of Nature and of God. For he has put their Bodies into the Power of their Minds, and their minds he keeps in his own hands; and therefore if you ſcourge them you do

not only punish the Innocent for the Guilty (which no sort of men are so brutish to do beside the Clergy) but the disgrace and the blame of all lights at last upon the divine Majesty, in that the Mind is wholly in his hands, and all its Actions whatsoever must be entitled to his Providence. A blessed Account of Government this! but yet such as is absolutely necessary to the exemption of Conscience from the Commands of Authority, by ascribing all the Extravagancies of Mankind to the Will of God, that has put upon them a fatal Necessity to do whatever they do. And then 'tis in vain for the Civil Magistrate to think of forcing his Subjects to Obedience by Penalties, when they are over-ruled to the contrary by an almighty and irresistible Power. This is a fit Cover for so foul a Cause.

But now if you had come to me, I could have told you an hundred more *idle stories*, that you and Kings and Schoolmasters would know how to make use of that would better have filled up your Politick Lectures, and done more advantage both to your cause and your self than all that you have rak'd together. I will recommend but one to you, in which I am sure the King and Parliament,

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the three Kingdoms with the Isles adjacent together with all the Plantations that lie out of hearing are more nearly concerned than in any of your Politick Tales, not excepting the Queens own Broad-seal, and to make you expect no longer it is the famous story of *Massanello*. And if ever you come to be a Parliament-man, because you may be modest at first and fearful of speaking, I care not if I lend you a Speech before I conclude. And thus you must manage it and your self.

First you must rise up and take out you Gold-watch (if it be not at pawn for the Picquet disaster) and though it do not go, or be down, yet look on't in the first place however, not transiently, but stay your Eye upon it, till you cannot longer do it handsomly without too apparent Prostitution of your design, than combing your Wigg, shake it with a Grace, make up your Mouth betwixt a smile and a simper, look upon the Presence with some Pity but more scorn. And then begin, *Mr. Speaker*, and there pause again, for it becomes you to seem modest at first; and so after a frown or two more with your mouth, and as many smiles with your Forehead, procede in good earnest without any more faces and pre-

faces to bewail the evil, the fatal, the sad Consequences, the mischiefs many and great, that threaten the Kingdom's ruine and turning it to a Common-wealth again, by the Apple-mongers and old Women in the *Strand*, *Charing-cross*, and all along by *White-hall* as far as *Westminster* in the Face of the Street and all By-standers, selling and exposing to sale from day to day whole baskets full of Pippins, Peremains, Russettings, and old Apple *Johns*. Whereas one sturdy *Swiss* (for I am sure he will run in your head) and here you must beg Mr. Speakers pardon, and correct your self, and say you meant one sturdy Fisher-boy (and that you must observe for a certain Rule, though you are out never so much, yet for all that still to go on) I say Mr. Speaker one sturdy Fisher-boy by that fatal occasion of overturning an Apple-womans basket, overturn'd all *Naples*, his name was *Massanello*, and the story is true. And though Mr. Speaker you may at first think it but an *idle story*, yet all circumstances duly weighed, it may some time or other prove of fatal and dangerous consequence to the Common-wealth. There is Mr. Speaker beside *Punchanello*'s Audience a great concourse of Boys whipping Giggs,

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and of Lacqueys playing at the wheel of Fortune, as I my self have often remarqued, or if you will not relye upon my single observation, my Lord Chief Justice, and Sir *Edmond Godfrey* are able to inform you. Now Mr. Speaker, beside what may ordinarily happen at any time in scuffles between the Boys, or the Lacqueys, or the Porters, it may so fall out that some pleasant and humorous Gentleman, one of the Cock-wits of the town, as he is passing on by *Charing-Cross* to *White-hall*, either for the intrinsick wit of the frolick it self, or to make a noise by boasting the adventure in the privy Gallery, should either by himself, or the officious Ministry of his Foot-boy overturn a whole Settle of Apple-baskets; that must of necessity make a scramble, a scramble a scuffle, a scuffle a tumult, and then that may *lightly* come to pelting of Apples, and that to tumbling in the kennel, and that to bloody noses, and *then be sure* (Mr. Speaker) *hell is broke loose*, as I have observed in my Book of Aphorisms and Similitudes, when the *Scots* enter'd *England* upon as slight a Cause, *viz.* to fight for the *Jure Divino* of throwing Cricket-stools at Divine Service. And *what follow'd thereupon is yet* Pag. 148.

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within the compaſs of moſt mens memories. Mr. Speaker, *I would not willingly be ſuch a fool as to make a dangerous ſimilitude that has no foundation, for every ſimilitude muſt have if not all, yet ſome likeneſs.* That is to ſay, (for it will be ſometimes requiſite for ſo deep a Stateſ-man as you to explain your ſelf) there is no likeneſs without ſome likeneſs. But this (Mr. Speaker) I am ſure of, that War was begun by the Women and Children and Servants of *Edinburgh*, as you may ſee in the firſt Remonſtrance preſented in their names to the Lord Chancellour of *Scotland*. And ſo if it ſhould happen upon this occaſion at *Charing-Croſs*, that any *Maſſanello* (and believe me Mr. Speaker all Kingdoms are full of *Maſſanello's*) ſhould head the Tumult, what elſe can lightly be expected, but that they ſhould either betake themſelves to *White-hall*, and there revile the King to his face, *for requiring things impoſſible, unneceſſary, or wanton of his people, for not conſidering the Laws and Cuſtomes under which they have been formerly bred* (as when under the Long-Parliament, the Rump and Committee of Safety they had the Priviledge of raiſing Tumults againſt their Governours) *for not giving them good words upon all occaſions, and*

and humouring them like Children; for not being ſo civil as to condeſcend to their infirmities, and if at any time they have got a cold, forcing them to be cover'd; in brief, for not obſerving the conſtitution of their bodies, and the antipathy of their ſtomachs. But if they ſhall paſs by *Whitehall* (as Mr. Speaker no body knows the motions of Tumults) then what can be expected, but that they ſhould immediately to *Weſtminſter* one and all, and ſo beſet this Houſe, and offer violence to the *Members* for being ſo fooliſhly trinkled, and burthening the Subject with ſuch a *ſuperfetation of Acts.* And therefore (Mr. Speaker) to be ſhort, my humble motion is, *&c.* But here you know how to go on by your ſelf, it is only to move and deſire the Houſe for a quarter of an hour together by repeating the ſame Premiſes all over again, that neither Apples, nor Pears, nor Nuts, nor any other incentives of ſcrambling may be ſold between *Charing-Croſs* and *Weſtminſter-hall* for fear of *Maſſanello's* and ſturdy *Swiſſers.* Do but ſpeak it confidently, and with a good Grace, and then I am ſure the Speech it ſelf deſerves more regard, and is of cloſer importance to the King, Parliament, and Government, than all your idle ſtories

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from *Alexander* the Great down to the Great King *Gill*. I am content (if you will keep your own counsel) you should have the honour of the Motion, and I doubt not but it will be thought so serviceable to the Common-wealth, that if your Effigies be not set up in the next Nich to King *James* in the *Royal Exchange*, yet you can never fail of having your Statue erected among the foremost of the Dirt-basket-Justices.

And now I have done, and hope by this time you perceive, that though *one night may make some men gray*, yet threescore years cannot make others wise. And therefore I would advise you to meddle no more with Ecclesiastical Polities, for I plainly perceive that Divinity is a *Trade* (*that God be thanked*) *you are not of*. And that *truly the reason why God does not bless you* in tampering with matters of Religion, is, *both because he never intended you for that employment*; or if he did, you have neglected *to fit your self for it by Education*. So that if you must be scribling, betake your self to your own proper trade of Lampoons and Ballads, and be not so unadvised as to talk in publique of such matters as are above the reach of your under-

understanding, you cannot touch *Sacred things* without *prophaning* them. To conclude, though it was the Opinion of most wise men, that there was nothing more needful to answer your Libel, than only to desire the world to compare it with my Discourses; yet others, who overpowr'd me to this Reply against the bent of my own inclinations, thought it expedient that I should lay you thus open, though it were only to let those weak People, that once seem'd to admire and applaud you, know that they had so little judgement as to approve the most despicable Trifler that was ever guilty of ink-shed. And as for what concerns your self I shall say no more, than to assure you, that if you will learn modesty by this Correction, and so give over *Transprosing* and the *Good Old Cause*, you shall ever hereafter find me as much your friend as ever heretofore. But as for my Reply I fear it not, for if you will keep to the Reason of the Argument, I know You and all your Party cannot answer; and if you will play the fool again, that will not serve your turn a second time; the very people that once magnified your Wit, now laugh at the fillines of your Pamphlet. At least, I think I have so sufficiently

ficiently chaſtiſed your folly, that if you ſhould be ſo raſh as to continue troubleſome, there will be no need of a ſecond Correction, you will be laught at, and ſcorn'd enough without being expoſed by any beſide your ſelf. However I have ſomething elſe to do than to write a Book againſt every ignorant and conceited man that has nothing elſe to do than to throw out his impertinent ſcribble againſt me. And therefore I ſhall only deſire you to recommend me to all your Friends at *Charing-Croſs* and in *Lincolns-inn-fields*, and ſo bid you heartily *farewell.*

FINIS.

The Printer to the Reader.

Reader, *Thou art deſired to pardon thoſe few faults that have eſcaped the Preſs, by reaſon the Authour had not the Reviſing of the ſheets.*